


BV 637 .S4
Seger, Imogen.
Responsibility for the
community



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library



Responsibility for the Community

A New Norm
Confronts Tradition in
Lutheran City Churches

by Imogen Seger



THE BEDMINSTER PRESS

Totowa, N. J. 1963

2

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, 1961.

Recommended for publication in this form by Charles Y. Glock, Professor of Sociology at the University of California (Berkeley).

Printed in the United States of America
from typescript supplied by the author.

Copyright © 1963 by The Bedminster Press, Totowa, New Jersey
Library of Congress Catalogue Card No. 63 - 18090

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vi
Chapter	
I. THE PRICE OF SURVIVAL	1
Turnover of Membership and Preservation of the Identity of the Organization	2
Functions of the "Social Gospel" Ideology . .	4
Lutheran Tradition versus Social Adaptation .	7
The Roots of a Dilemma	9
Changing Identity?	17
The Concept of "Effectiveness"	19
"Effectiveness" as a Goal	22
Definition and Evaluation of "Effectiveness".	27
Members and the New Institutional Norm . . .	34
Seven Examples of Lutheran City Churches . .	39
II. A SURVEY OF THE SEVEN CONGREGATIONS: THEIR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SITUATIONS	42
The "Complacent" Congregation of St. Peter's .	45
The "Proud" Congregation of Trinity	48
The "Contented" Congregation of Zion	52
The "Retreating" Congregation of St. Matthew's	55
The "Disintegrating" Congregation of St. Mark's	58
The "Uneasy" Congregation of St. John's . . .	63
The "Divided" Congregation of St. Luke's . .	66
Satisfaction in Seven Congregations	69
III. SEVEN PASTORS AND SEVEN CONGREGATIONS	76
"Satisfied" and "Dissatisfied" Congregations	77
Rating of Pastor and Length of Service in Seven Congregations	79
The Pastor's Sermons in the Three "Satisfied" Congregations	84
The Pastor and the Community in the Three "Satisfied" Congregations	90

The Pastor and the Church's Internal Affairs in the Three "Satisfied" Congregations	93
The Four "Dissatisfied" Congregations	98
The Pastor of St. Matthew's	98
The Sermons	98
Community Activities	100
Internal Difficulties	101
The Pastor of St. Mark's	105
Problems in Integration	105
The Sermons	109
Internal Tensions	110
The Pastor of St. John's	112
The Problem of Inertia	112
The Sermons	115
No "Sense of Community"	117
The Pastor of St. Luke's	119
The Crisis	119
The Sermons	126
Main Factors that Influence the Rating of the Pastors in Seven Congregations	129
IV. HOW GOOD A JOB ARE THE SEVEN CONGREGATIONS DOING?	144
St. Peter's and Zion--External and Internal Peace--Somewhat Disturbed	146
St. John's--Peacefulness or Weakness?	158
St. Matthew's and St. Luke's--Social Action versus Conservatism--Pastors versus Lay Leaders	164
Trinity and St. Mark's--Problems of Integration	172
Characteristics of Respondents who are Satisfied with the Congregation's Job	192
Participation in the life of the Church and Satisfaction with the Congregation's Job	197

Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction with the Congregation's Job in Seven Cases-- Conclusion	205
V. ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS OF SEVEN CONGREGATIONS .	227
The Importance of Single Problems in the Seven Congregations	233
Perception of Problems and Rating of the Congregation's Action	237
VI. PERSONAL RELIGIOUS SATISFACTION IN SEVEN CONGREGATIONS	246
Characteristics of Respondents with Personal Religious Satisfaction	248
Personal Religious Satisfaction and Participation	250
Personal Religious Satisfaction and Attitudes towards Integration and Neighborhood . . .	254
VII. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN KINDS OF SATISFACTION: ASPECTS OF EFFECTIVENESS	265
Satisfaction with Pastor and Congregation . .	266
Personal Religious Satisfaction and Satis- faction with Pastor and Congregation . . .	270
Four Kinds of Satisfaction	276
The Four Kinds of Satisfaction and Their Correlates Compared	280
Kinds of Satisfaction Reconsidered	285
VIII. SATISFACTION AND EFFECTIVENESS IN LUTHERAN CITY CHURCHES	299
STATEMENT ON METHOD	314
The Main Problems	314
The Data of the City Church Effectiveness Study	316

Chapter	Page
Use of the Data	321
Suggestions for Further Research	328
APPENDIX	331
Indices of Perception of Problems and of Rating of Action on Problems	331
General and Particular Problem Consciousness .	334
Perception of Problems and Rating of Action on these Problems	335
Characteristics of Problem Conscious Respondents	338
Perception of Problems and Participation . .	343
Perception of Problems and Attitudes towards the Neighborhood and Integration	345
Differences in Ratings of Action on Problems .	347
Rating of Action on Problems and Participation	349
Rating of Action on Problems and Attitudes towards the Neighborhood and Integration .	351
BIBLIOGRAPHY	363

LIST OF TABLES AND GRAPHS

Table		Page
1-II	Membership Figures and Return Rates for the Mail Questionnaire	71
2-II	Characteristics of Respondents	72-73
3-II	Socio-economic Level of Respondents	74
4-II	Participation in the Life of the Church	75
1-III	Satisfaction with Pastor	139
2-III	Ratings of the Pastor's Activities	140-41
3-III	Participation and Satisfaction with Pastor	142
4-III	Characteristics of Respondents Satisfied with Pastor	143
1-IV	Satisfaction with Congregation	215
2-IV	Rating of Problems	216
2a-IV	Rating of Problems and Satisfaction with Congregation in Trinity and St. Mark's	217
3-IV	Growth of Membership	218
4-IV	Attitudes toward Integration	219
4a-IV	Attitudes towards Integration and Satis- faction with Congregation in St. Peter's and St. Mark's	220
5-IV	Attitudes towards the Neighborhood	221
6-IV	The Neighborhood and Satisfaction with the Congregation	222
7-IV	Characteristics of Respondents Satisfied with Congregation	223-24
7a-IV	Characteristics of Trinity's Negro and White Respondents Satisfied with Congregation	225

Table	Page
8-IV Participation and Satisfaction with the Congregation	226
1-V Problem Index in Seven Congregations . . .	243
1a-V Problems most often Perceived or Seen as Acted upon Effectively	244
2-V Perception of Problems and Rating of Action on these Problems	245
GRAPH Specific Problems	245a
1-VI Personal Religious Satisfaction in Seven Congregations	259
1a-VI Church Membership and Eight "Areas of Life"	260
2-VI Characteristics of "Personally Satisfied" Respondents	261
3-VI Personal Religious Satisfaction and Participation	262
4-VI Personal Religious Satisfaction and Attitudes Towards Integration and Neighborhood	263-64
1-VII Four Kinds of Satisfaction	292
2-VII Satisfaction with Pastor and Congregation .	293
3-VII Relationships between Four Kinds of Satisfaction	294
4-VII Personal Religious Satisfaction and Satis- faction with Pastor and Congregation . . .	295
5-VII Personal Religious Satisfaction and Satis- faction with Pastor or Congregation . . .	296
6-VII Rating of Congregation's Job and Rating of Action on Specific Problems	297
7-VII Satisfied and Dissatisfied Respondents . .	298
GRAPH Four Kinds of Satisfaction	298a
1-A Characteristics of Respondents Perceiving Problems	355

Table

Page

2-A	Distance from Church and Perception of Problems	356
3-A	The Influence of Distance from Church in St. Matthew's and St. Mark's	357
4-A	Perception of Problems and Participation .	358
5-A	The Neighborhood and Perception of Problems	359
6-A	Characteristics of Respondents Rating of Action on Problems Highly	360
7-A	Rating of Action on Problems and Participation	361
8-A	The Neighborhood and Rating of Action on Problems	362

CHAPTER I

THE PRICE OF SURVIVAL

This enquiry deals with seven Lutheran congregations, all situated in central areas of big American cities. The enquiry focusses on the various ways in which these congregations adapt themselves to their changing neighborhoods and on the various responses of their members to changes inside and outside the congregation. The congregations are all caught in a struggle to survive in the face of change. They are examples of efforts to secure the physical survival of organizations by modifications in the norms of behavior towards the changing social environment. The modified norms are found to be more or less inconsistent with the traditional norms of behavior towards the social environment and their traditional justification. The new norms of behavior, intruding into a traditional system of thought, cause confusion and division among the members of the congregations, sometimes also a conservative reaction. The enquiry has thus two closely related aspects: one is the study of cultural change (primarily in Chapters I and VIII) and the other is the study of organizations in relation to their environment (primarily in Chapters II - VII).

Turnover of Membership and Preservation
of the Identity of the Organization

The seven Lutheran congregations treated here--on the basis of empirical data which are described in the Statement of Method--face a situation which is well known and quite general. It is the present-day urban situation characterized by the "flight to the suburbs" of young middle-class families.¹ The problems created are, so far, most urgently felt by all the major Protestant denominations with substantial middle-class membership. The main problems are: the loss of the old members of the churches, often in large numbers, often too including those who provided lay leadership and financial support; the deterioration and, at a later stage, the reconstruction of the neighborhood of the church so that new members, drawn from the constituency to replace those who have moved away, are poorer, less qualified for lay leadership, are of another class, or of other ethnic origin or race than the remaining old members and therefore resented by them--the resentment then accelerating the withdrawal of old members; and so forth. Thus there arises the agonizing question whether a congregation in the inner city should fatalistically accept its own withering away, should try to hold on to its old members or people like them wherever they live, or should take in whomever lives nearby. In recent years so many Protestant city churches have either merged, thus reducing their numbers,

¹For details about the growth of suburbs and some concomitant problems see, for example, The Suburban Community: A Sourcebook, ed. William Dobriner, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958, especially pp. 3-20.

or have 'relocated' in the suburbs that there is talk about the 'dechristianized inner city' and the shirking of their responsibility by the Protestant churches.¹

All seven churches considered are in fact "inner city" churches and, for one reason or another, are committed to staying where they are. Naturally, they do not contemplate mere withering away--at least, their clergy, the denominational organization, and a sizable party among their members are not prepared to contemplate a future of slow extinction. It follows that they must either rely on keeping as many old members as possible, or drawing in new ones from the neighborhood. In practice, they do both, but it is the latter resort which offers a real possibility of survival. Therefore they encounter all the problems which arise from the effort to attract new members and from the acceptance of new and different kinds of members in an established community.

In facing these problems, Lutheran churches are in the same position essentially as all other Protestant churches.

¹There are, however, no adequate data on how many churches, Lutheran or other, have relocated from a church building in the inner city to another part of the city or to a suburb, or how many have just been closed over any given period of time. Some information has been gathered for certain cities but it seems to be--like so many church statistics--incomplete and unreliable. This lack of data is, however, not important for present purposes. What is important is the feeling among churchmen (as evidenced by their writings and conferences--see below) that too many Protestant city congregations are impervious to the problems of their neighborhoods and that the growth of church membership in recent years has occurred in the suburbs, while large residential areas in the big cities are left without churches of the major Protestant denominations. This feeling was brought to a broader public in an article by Truman B. Douglass, "The Job the Protestants Shirk," in Harper's Magazine of November 1958, 45-49.

Shall an inner city church replenish its membership only from those of its own persuasion who move into its territory? But these may be few or none. Shall it try to win "the unchurched" of all kinds of religious backgrounds to whom the tradition of the denomination means nothing--and perhaps never will? It is now generally frowned upon to exclude applicants from membership because of ethnic origin, class, or even race--but how far should the church go in active campaigns to recruit such new and different members?¹

Functions of the "Social Gospel"-Ideology

Whatever the answers to these questions, the new recruits have to be educated for full membership and the question arises what degrees of knowledge, understanding and acceptance of the beliefs, doctrines, traditions, rituals and practices of the particular church should be considered sufficient for full membership. The time is not very far distant when the differences between Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists about the theology of the Communion were of supreme importance. But today, even ministers seem sometimes a little uncertain what the doctrines of their own denomination are, or whether they accept them wholeheartedly. The emphasis on practical ethics in American Protestantism has been remarked upon as long as descriptions

¹Robert D. Cross, The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958, gives a documented account of the differences of opinion arising among the Catholic clergy as to the right approach to missionary work under the special conditions prevailing in America. See especially Chapter XI, "Liberal Catholicism in the 20th Century," 206-224.

of the religious life in America have appeared and, since the rise of the "Social Gospel" at about the turn of the century, this emphasis has taken on a new dimension. In recent years the Social Gospel has been somewhat moderated and rather sobered but has, in this form and usually under new names, found even wider acceptance. This belief--for it is a belief --requires that general social progress is God's design for His creation. It is thus man's duty to cooperate with God in working for a better world and a better life in it for humanity.¹ It is far easier to bring a new kind of member, or

¹These teachings have a long tradition, partly in Puritan Calvinism--the "inner-worldly asceticism," changing the social order according to God's will and to his greater glory --partly in Arminianism--cooperating with God in His plan for the salvation of mankind. Merged with some trends of 18th century rationalism, these teachings finally found a new expression in the "Social Gospel" at the turn of the last century. Charles Howard Hopkins (The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), neglecting the still earlier sources of the movement, traces it back to "the early years of the gilded age," when the new message was "an integral part of the broad sweep of social and humanitarian efforts that concerned America during the half century between the Civil War and the World War." (Ibid., p. vii) It was the effort of American Protestantism to cope with the problems of industrialization and urbanization, the realization that the new and large social problems escaped the reach of traditional works of mercy, and the influence upon clergymen of the secular doctrines devoted to a new social order. It was also, according to Hopkins, "the acclimatization of Christianity to the optimistic America of the 'century of progress.'" (Ibid., p. 18) The main concept of the new social message of American Protestantism was "the Kingdom of God," now declared to be not purely spiritual but a possible aim for this world, "a Christian organization of society, in all nations and in all parts, effected, sustained, and animated by God, acting in regenerated men." (Edward Beecher, "The Scriptural Philosophy of Congregationalism and Councils," Bibliotheca Sacra, 22, 1865, 287.) A Theology for the Social Gospel by Walter Rauschenbusch was published in 1917 (New York: Macmillan Company), at a time when World War I had already begun to shatter the hopes of the reformers. Since then various neo-orthodoxies have been imported from

indeed several new kinds, into a congregation on a basis of common profession of belief in this mundane gospel, which is in such close harmony with the social and political ideas of American democracy, than to form adult new members into true believers in the superiority of faith over works or in a particular view of the Eucharist. For "liberal" clerics, who are prepared to allow a good deal of latitude of belief to the individual conscience, or are ready to see some beliefs as symbolic rather than literal, a gospel of reform in this world can readily become a chief common ground between all, or the great majority, of church members.

Further, churches like other organizations, are mainly judged by their visible accomplishments and the visible rewards they offer to their members and what, apart from an attractive church-building, could be more visible to the yet uncommitted outsider than social action in the neighborhood of the church by its minister and members? The Lutheran Church historian, Abdel Ross Wentz, who, like other churchmen, is well aware of this fact, puts it this way: "To the multitudes who are caught in the hard social conditions imposed by the industrial, economic, and political situation

Europe into American seminaries and have stirred the interest of intellectuals. But optimism and activism, which are the hallmarks of the Social Gospel, are so strong in the traditions of American Protestantism and of the American ethical culture in general, that only catastrophic changes could erase them. (Cf. William Warren Sweet, The American Churches: An Interpretation, New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1947, pp. 110-149.) The optimistic, activistic and rational social viewpoint has, by now, permeated the thinking of most churches in America, at least to some extent, and, as witness the present study, is seriously considered in the councils of churches once thought to be strongholds of old-world traditionalism.

of our time, such witness through social action may prove to be more convincing than . . . any other testimony that Lutherans might present."¹ Here, clearly, is the rationale for an ideology of social action: social action is easily understood as a Christian testimony and is also what people in America expect of their churches today--at least in the opinion of Wentz and other church leaders, Lutheran and non-Lutheran. The Social Gospel and its modern derivations offer a justification for the continued existence of city churches, however much the neighborhood and its inhabitants may change. It is thus not only a means of institutional survival; it carries at the same time the values which sanction this survival. The city church can see itself as fulfilling a God-ordained task, and in fulfilling it, it uses the means which seem best suited to assure its continued existence. Still further, an ideology of social action seems useful in the competition with other denominations and, not least, in the competition with the increasingly welfare-conscious secular state which has already taken over many tasks once the preserve of religious institutions of mercy.

Lutheran Tradition versus Social Adaptation

But this solution to the city church's problem is not equally easy for all the churches to accept and among the churches for which it is most difficult are the Lutheran churches. Those churches which have found it relatively easy

¹A Basic History of Lutheranism in America, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955, p. 336.

are the churches in the Calvinist tradition. Calvin, in fact, reasserted against Luther the responsibility of the church in worldly affairs such as the mediaeval Catholic church had generally allowed to go by default.

In the traditions of the evangelical churches (the Baptist and the Methodist churches mainly) there is also the basis for meeting the problems of the inner city by social action. Active concern with the present world constituted the substantive novelty of Methodism. In England this movement was intimately concerned with the social problems of the Industrial Revolution and, in America, also with those of the frontier. The Baptist churches have been, since Reformation days, churches of the poor and have been, again and again, caught up in social movements. All evangelical churches share an emphasis on the practical as against ritual and high developments of theology. Permeated by the ideas of the Social Gospel, these churches now feel that it would be wrong or unwise for the churches to leave the realm of social planning and betterment to secular agencies. Yet if the churches seek social improvement for Christian reasons, the work they do is essentially the same as that done by other dutiful citizens as an end in itself. If a church participates as a body in such work, it may then find itself on a footing similar to that of a social agency, or a department of government. This risk is taken without hesitation by the main Protestant denominations in America.¹

¹Cf., for example, Ross W. Sanderson, The Church Serves the Changing City (New York: Harper & Bros., 1955), written

Lutheranism in America has, however, always differed from these main currents of Protestantism. At least, that is the opinion frequently expressed by Lutheran as well as other observers.¹ As we shall see, a group within American Lutheranism is now setting out to equal or better the social action undertaken by other denominations. Yet in doing so, Lutherans are confronted with a dilemma deeply rooted in the history and the traditions of the church, a dilemma which originated when Luther spelled out the difference between matters spiritual and matters temporal in opposition to the practices of the Roman Catholic Church of his time.

The Roots of a Dilemma

Luther came to believe that the sphere of religion was fundamentally removed from all temporal things and should be

for the Department of the Urban Church with the cooperation of The Committee on Field Research of the National Council of Churches. Sanderson points to "a new settlement movement" whose focus is upon neighborhood renewal, as it was a half-century ago, though now it is to work under the auspices of Protestant churches united for the purpose across denominational lines.

¹Examples of this opinion among Lutherans--as well as recent attempts to refute it--are given below. For a non-Lutheran account see, for example, William Warren Sweet, op. cit., pp. 134-141. It is, of course, not possible to establish objectively a scale of greater or lesser orientation towards social action among Protestant denominations in America. Especially, pronouncements from the clergy or the governing bodies of churches do not always find acceptance among ordinary laymen. Revivalism pursues its own ends. The organization of social action on the national or the local level is different again. What is important for this thesis is, however, the feeling among Lutherans that they do indeed differ from other denominations with respect to social action and the feeling--among an outspoken and active group of Lutherans--that they should join the efforts at social action.

kept separate: "God has made provision for two forms of government, the spiritual and the temporal," he wrote.¹ He did not say that a religious person should not take part in the things of this world; he even said that the Christian should "seek revenge, right, protection and aid" for others--though never for himself. Luther believed strongly that the temporal power, that is, the prince, the state, the government, was instituted by God to keep order in this world, where "among every thousand persons there is but one Christian,"² and that it was the Christian's duty to obey the temporal power in everything except matters of faith. He had no patience at all with the peasants who tried to read into the spiritual message of the Gospel a program of social reconstruction. It was his firm belief that "the temporal sword" should take on the necessarily bloody business of keeping order in this evil world and that the church and its ministers should not meddle in the state's affairs, still less try to run them. This doctrine, meant to free the new churches from the worldly entanglements of the Roman Catholic Church, was also formulated in the Augsburg Confession of 1530 which, to this day, constitutes the doctrinal basis of Lutheranism. Article XVI lays down that individual "Christians may without sin" occupy civil offices or otherwise take part in worldly affairs, but Article XXVIII insists that the church should keep to its own realm:

Therefore, the two authorities, the spiritual and the temporal, are not to be mingled or confused, for the

¹Martin Luther, Of Temporal Power, 1523

²Ibid.

spiritual power has its commission to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments. Hence it should not invade the function of the other, should not set up and depose kings, should not annul temporal laws or undermine obedience to government, should not make or prescribe to the temporal power laws concerning worldly matters.

Thus Luther's idea of the politically disentangled church became institutionalized in the various state churches in Germany and Scandinavia and acquired all the weight and authority of tradition. From time to time, grave problems arise from this doctrine; yet it also makes it possible for Lutheran churches to live in peace with various forms of government. Further, the churches have developed "institutions of mercy" to mitigate harsh social conditions and to offer consolation to suffering people. They have tried, among other things, to help the poor. But they have not tried to remove the causes of poverty. Thus, in spite of efforts to overcome the problems inherent in Luther's doctrine, it still essentially holds in European countries.¹ Nor has it been changed completely in the United States, where it runs counter to the prevailing mood in the larger denominations and to the prevailing religious tradition.

Luther also stressed the belief in man's essential depravity, from which only God's grace and nothing which man himself might do can rescue him.² This belief is especially

¹Compare, for example, the painful efforts of the Lutheran churches in East Germany, notably of Bishop Dibelius, to reconcile their feeling as 20th century men about the totalitarian state with Luther's concept of the Obrigkeit to whom obedience is due.

²For a description of how Luther's teaching that good works are a consequence of faith but do not, in themselves,

difficult to reconcile with the sense of American democratic ideology and institutions which requires a general trust in man's good nature and good sense. Furthermore, American ideas of democratic self-government penetrated to some extent into the Lutheran churches which could not--as they did in Germany or Scandinavia--rely on the protective custody of the state, but had to organize on the voluntary principles of all American churches. Voluntary membership and voluntary contributions cannot fail to strengthen the importance of the lay members in the church and thus also of ideas they acquire outside the church.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the history of Lutheranism in America has been one of intermittent, recurring struggles between traditionalism and adaptation to the American climate of opinion. It was not always the same element in American feeling which threatened the Lutheran system of thought and practice, and sometimes the struggle was limited to a certain region. Either national or regional movements have often been inspired by a new wave of immigrants from Europe. In the mid-nineteenth century there arose a movement explicitly known as "American Lutheranism." This required an actual modification of doctrine in an "American" direction and it provoked its own reaction and suppression within the church.¹ The strength of tradition has also held Lutheran

gain merit, has led, in later practice, to quietistic complacency towards social problems, see Ernst Troeltsch, Gesammelte Schriften: Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen (Tübingen: Mohr, 1912), pp. 601-605. For details on other questions treated above, see ibid., passim.

² Abdel Ross Wentz, op. cit., pp. 137-139.

churches back from participation in the great revivals which have swept over the United States so that Lutherans have remained notably foreign to an important part of American religiosity, to its emotionalism and its increasing optimism about the nature of man. Instead, Lutheranism has reacted by emphasizing its own unique qualities, its dogmatic articulateness, its liturgy, its music, its long tradition.¹

In the well preserved national and religious homogeneity of the farm country and small towns in Pennsylvania and the

¹The organization of Lutheran churches in America is mainly based on former national ties. Dutch Lutherans got established in America in 1623; German, Swedish and other Scandinavian Lutherans followed. The first Lutheran synod in America was organized in 1748 as the "Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania." In the middle of the 19th century, immigrants from Germany and Scandinavia settled in the Midwest and organized several Lutheran synods there. These immigrants largely retained their European cultural background and with it the traditions of the Lutheran churches of their home countries; sermons and religious instruction usually were in the language of the home country. By the turn of the century the Lutheran Church had become the third largest Protestant body in America, but it was divided over doctrinal and organizational questions. Since World War I the tendency has been toward larger organizational units. According to the Dictionary of the Lutheran World Federation of 1960, there are now 8,054,417 communicants in sixteen Lutheran bodies in the United States.

The organization of the National Lutheran Council (NLC) in 1918 grew out of common war efforts. Since then, the NLC has constantly enlarged the scope of its activities. It now acts as a co-operative agency for eight Lutheran bodies: the United Lutheran Church, the American Lutheran Church, the Augustana Lutheran Church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Lutheran Free Church and the Finnish Evangelical Church. It represents the affiliated churches to the outside world, in America and in other countries, in sponsoring joint enterprises. The "Effective City Church Study" of the NLC is such an enterprise. The data on which this enquiry is based were collected for the Effective City Church Study by the Department of Urban Planning, Division of American Missions of the NLC. In this undertaking the NLC, in turn, worked together with the National Council of Churches of Christ (NCC).

Midwest, Lutherans might, without great difficulty, maintain their traditional social attitudes. These were often formed by the Pietism brought to America in the 19th century by German and Scandinavian immigrants. Lutheran Pietism as well as Lutheran Orthodoxy rejected entanglement in worldly affairs for the church, but it was mainly on the pietistic and quietistic tradition with its emphasis on personal piety that the social attitudes of American Lutherans were based. In the big cities, however, the proper Christian attitude toward social problems inevitably becomes a problem. Here, the care given to the individual believer seemed inadequate; acquiescence in the inefficiency of the government and the misuse of temporal power seemed impossible; the reform-preaching, politicking ministers of the Social Gospel seemed to make sense. This experience released other feelings--feelings which could become the basis for grave doubts. For example, Luther's savage condemnation of the rebellious peasants could only seem shocking to Lutherans who had become true 20th century Americans: they, just like any other Americans, and like the German peasants in 1525, believe that the freedom of a Christian is not exclusively spiritual, but means that there should be no serfdom--including serfdom in modern form.¹ And, Pietism

¹Luther distinguished between spiritual and civil freedom and insisted that the latter cannot be derived from the former. He even defended serfdom by telling the peasants that Abraham and other Patriarchs and prophets also had serfs. He told them that it would be "robbery" to take away their own bodies from their lord who owned them. He told them that it is impossible to make all men equal in this world, that there could be no temporal power without inequality of persons, with free men and with captives, with lords and with subjects. No amount of modern re-interpretation can turn Luther into a

which cares nothing for the world, its joys and its troubles, is also out of place among modern Americans. Adaptive changes seemed necessary to at least some Lutheran churchmen. But changes are difficult in institutions with long, written traditions.

In this dilemma, Lutherans have moved slowly. Although individuals have advocated "the group application of Christian principles," the churches as corporate bodies have not accepted "the technology-born doctrine of progress." They have "rejected the 'social gospel' which taught that a man can be saved by a change in his social environment, and preferred to speak of 'the social implications of the gospel.'" The "main emphasis of the church continued to be placed on man's sin in his relation to God, the need for regeneration of the individual soul, the relief of physical distress, the activities of the inner missions, and institutions of mercy."¹

According to Wentz, however, the Lutheran church has by now caught up with the other large Protestant denominations in America as far as programs of social action are concerned.² Another authority, Sydney E. Ahlstrom, who is as strong a supporter of social action as Wentz is, nevertheless specifically rejects Wentz's view that the dilemma of traditionalism versus

20th century American. Efforts made in this direction may, however, win acceptance when no one reads the contemporary sources any longer.

¹Abdel Ross Wentz, op. cit., pp. 26, 331.

²Ibid., p. 336.

adaptation never really existed. Ahlstrom says: "Lutheranism is best understood when it is seen not as something indistinguishably blended in with the luxuriant foliage of American denominationalism, but as a tradition living in a real but fruitful state of tension with American church life."¹ Ahlstrom, like Wentz, however, is satisfied that the tension is a matter of the past: "for the first time," he says in 1957, "Lutherans are not perplexed, frustrated, and torn by the old dilemma. The language question, for one thing, is settled; and the old choice between American and European loyalties has been transcended."²

Such optimism overlooks that the old dilemma has many forms and is still quite alive. For example, in 1956 the convention of the United Lutheran Church in America rejected a proposal to endorse the Supreme Court's ruling against segregation in the public schools as "in harmony with Christian convictions." The ground given for the rejection was that the church had no right to "differ with or support" the court since the court presumably acts purely on legal principles, not on Christian and biblical principles. The decision was reached by a majority of 340 to 159, with the President, Franklin Clark Fry, formally dissenting. While the largest Lutheran body defeats a motion for mere endorsement of an act of social reform by the state and thus disassociates itself from the

¹"The Lutheran Church and American Culture: A Tercentenary Retrospect," Lutheran Quarterly, IX (Nov. 1957), [321-342], p. 321.

²Ibid., p. 338.

other major American denominations which have endorsed this act, Lutherans are far from transcending their difficulties about social action, or from integrating themselves into 'American Protestantism.'

Changing Identity?

We have seen how the Lutheran churches in America have been, through their history, confronted with the problem of adapting to a continually changing environment without losing their identity. The environmental challenge with which we are here specifically concerned is the present situation in the central parts of the big cities, and the mode of adaptation considered here is that of social action in the Social Gospel tradition of American Protestantism. Adopting this mode of adaptation means to follow the precedent of other large Protestant denominations and it means to yield to pressures inside and outside the churches. It also means to introduce an essentially foreign element into Lutheranism.

Such processes have been described by Sorokin as processes of dissolution: a sociocultural system has its own "system of meaning" and when it takes in bits of other systems of meanings it is weakened or in a state of decline; it is on its way to become a mere "congeries," a collection of ideas, many of which are inconsistent and contradictory to one another.¹ One may, however, also view this process as a

¹Pitirim Sorokin, Social and Cultural Dynamics, IV (New York: American Book Co., 1941), esp. p. 86. Of course, many quite vigorous "systems of meaning," especially those of religious "systems" contain logical inconsistencies and

process of change instead of decline; by changing its "system of meaning," a sociocultural system--such as a church or an association of churches--may be able to survive in a changing environment, that is, survive physically. It may then proceed to eliminate some of the inconsistencies and contradictions in its weakened system of meaning by abandoning those parts of its old system which clash most with the new elements. Thus, it may become a new system, whether or not it goes on using the old name.

At present, it seems that such a process of deep transformation has been initiated within the Lutheran Church in America. The new ideas which are introduced do clash with the traditional ideas but--except among a small group of theologians--Lutheran doctrine and tradition are already so weakened and watered down that the rank and file rarely feel the clash consciously. Instead, resistance is mostly inertia. The changes in social outlook and action are not explicitly based on a changed doctrine of human nature. The old pessimistic view has receded so far into the background that it does not interfere. Long ago, "the infiltration of an anti-theological, even an anti-doctrinal bias that tended to stifle religious thought and teaching even when it did not lead to marked doctrinal deviation"¹ had prepared the way for the adoption of the new idea of social action.

contradictions. As long as they do not become apparent to the members of the sociocultural system, they do not seem to matter.

¹Ahlstrom, op. cit., p. 333, about American Lutheranism in the 19th century.

But how much conviction does this new idea carry with the members of the Lutheran churches? It has to overcome inertia, reluctance to change, in order to become effective. It may, if carried too far, provoke yet another orthodox reaction--a reaction that is now visible only among some eminent theologians and their disciples. We cannot tell what will happen in the future; we can only try to tell what is happening now. And what is happening now is the effort by a social action party within the Lutheran Church to provide new norms of thought and conduct for the churches struggling for survival in the inner city. The key concept in this effort is "effectiveness."

The Concept of "Effectiveness"

In trying to describe the ideas behind 'the effective city church,' we shall not give a complete history of their development. Rather, we shall illustrate from various documents how "effectiveness" is understood and what its intended applications are.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the concept of effectiveness came into theological usage about a hundred years ago as "Effective faith, love, etc.: that bears fruit in conduct."¹ But in the literature and documents at hand, emanating from present-day American Protestant organizations and writers, the concept is used as it is in ordinary language, that is, as the quality of being effective or producing

¹The Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), III.

a decided or decisive effect. Thus, it implies action, progressive change, an impact of Christian religion on the world --things which are deemed desirable in the American culture in general. It sounds more modern, more rational and practical than the "Social Gospel" whose offspring it is. It also permits everybody to fill the word with a meaning to suit his preconceived notions about the task of the churches in this world. It is thus well suited to be used in interdenominational efforts.

From 1950 on a series of meetings and studies devoted to "effectiveness" in the cities was sponsored by the National Council of the Churches of Christ. Effectiveness was considered as a theoretical as well as a practical goal and as an object of research. Details of these meetings will be given shortly. We should note at once, however, that in the minutes of the several meetings and in the incidental literature there is not only the assumption that different denominations with different attitudes towards social action could discuss their common problems in the cities and how to meet them, but also the implicit assumption that an "effective" Lutheran city church would not have an essentially different approach to the social problems of the inner city than an "effective" Methodist or Presbyterian church. The whole enterprise is oriented towards action, not towards the ideological bases for it. Instead, the concept of effectiveness itself, which ordinarily would have meaning only in conjunction with definite goals to be achieved, becomes the key concept to describe the goal, that is, any presumably beneficent effect on the

social environment of the church.

To have churches in the inner city which are a living force there is a goal which would guarantee survival to the churches and would thus fulfill the prerequisite for the achievement of ultimate theological goals, the salvation of souls. This, however, is not the only justification for declaring "effectiveness" a goal. For churches which had come to believe that they should work for a better social order because this is God's plan, social effectiveness is in itself a legitimate, if perhaps secondary, goal. But for Lutheran churches "effectiveness" is inconsistent with the traditional ways of achieving the ultimate goal of the salvation of souls, and it is inconsistent with basic doctrines if considered as a goal in itself. If nonetheless accepted, its pursuit will be accompanied by the displacement of the traditional ways and perhaps even of the ultimate goal itself. Successful "effectiveness" may then mean the achievement of institutional survival but the death of the former system of meaning. For the great symbolic significance of "effectiveness" and its outward manifestations in American society and perhaps still more its practical importance for survival foster the displacement of sentiment, interest, effort towards it and away from traditional pursuits.

Complex organizations like church congregations can, of course, function and perpetuate themselves while embodying many inconsistent or even contradictory norms about the means to be used for achieving their ultimate goals and about intermediate goals too. Such inconsistencies are often ignored for

a long time. If, however, they are recognized--and they are likely to be recognized when a new form like "effectiveness" is introduced--the members of the organization may split into factions: conservatives who reject the new norms, progressives who accept them, and undecided or uninterested members. This is happening in the Lutheran city congregations.

As the acceptance of "effectiveness" in the terminology and planning of the National Lutheran Council (NLC)¹ is a measure of the Americanization of this organization, so is the acceptance of the goal of "effectiveness" in individual congregations a measure of their Americanization and adaptation to their environment. This environment is hardly ever the same for any two city churches; no two churches are ever alike, and thus the term "effectiveness" takes on different meanings for each church. We can also say that individual congregations accept--or reject--different kinds of effectiveness. But as long as they try to survive in the rapidly changing inner city, they have to face the problem of precisely how they want to do so. There is no better way of describing this problem of choice than to use the general term "effectiveness" but there is nevertheless no general program of effectiveness.

"Effectiveness" as a Goal

We can follow the interest in the problems of the city church and the development of the effectiveness concept back to 1947, from which point a straight line leads to the study

¹Cf. footnote, p. 13.

with which we are concerned. In a Staff Report of May 3, 1957, to the Department of the Urban Church, Division of Home Missions, National Council of the Churches of Christ USA, it is stated that:

Ten years ago a small group of pioneer statesmen of the church met in New York to project a Joint Commission on the Urban Church. . . . This group discussed a possible 1948 budget and staff. The Commission sponsored the Urban Convocation of 1950 which gave birth to our journal, The City Church, and in that same year became our Department of the NCC.

This Department of the Urban Church of the NCC which, at a 1957 meeting, was described as "the place where we develop a prophetic voice for Urban Protestantism," adopted, in December 1955, in its rules of procedure, the following "purpose": "To develop a more effective urban church strategy in the USA." This is to be done through studies and programs. The plans include "the study of principles for the more effective churching of American cities, with a view to a more adequate and cooperative community approach," the study of various special problems like urban redevelopment and immigrant groups, the initiation and planning of studies of individual churches and their neighborhoods, the implementation of the findings of these various studies, and general guidance towards effectiveness for churches in changing communities.

A series of semi-annual meetings followed from which emerged the plans for the Urban Church Effectiveness Study. Of course, the Department of the Urban Church of the NCC pursued other undertakings at the same time and denominational organizations had their special meetings on urban problems and effectiveness, but we need not concern ourselves with these.

The minutes and reports of the NCC meetings and the publications originating in these efforts, clearly show the advantages and the limitations of the effectiveness concept.

The contents of the reports can be roughly classified under two headings: (1) If they want to survive, urban churches must be effective, and (2) effectiveness is anything within the broad field of human betterment and social welfare which the church can in some way influence, directly or through cooperation with other organizations. The outcome, to date, of this kind of reasoning has been a series of studies, not to evaluate effectiveness or to see how it works, but to discover what it is.

The difficulties in reconciling theological tradition and practical tasks are illustrated by the following:

In 1956 a special committee was set up to concern itself with implications of theology for urban work. It was said hopefully that, possibly, this committee would have "something to teach us that will strengthen our sense of mission." As of this writing (1961), the committee on theological implications has not produced a report.

As the efforts of meetings, etc., organized by the Department of the Urban Church of the NCC were all directed toward action and practical matters, they also had a tendency to treat particular problems and particular solutions. Thus, the concept of effectiveness seems to have become rather more complicated and nebulous with each discussion, while the necessity for devising a clear policy to guide congregations

beset by the problems of the big city became ever more obvious.¹

The theme of survival in the cities is, for example, taken up in a Staff Report to the Department² in these words:

Day by day it becomes clearer that unless we can dramatize for the whole church to see and understand that our institutional strength is not being deployed where the great masses abound whose children will form the suburbanites of the next generation we shall be encouraging the church to become an irrelevant appendage to an essentially secular society.

It is expressed by an administrator of the NCC in these words:

We don't dare leave the city and just meet our local needs. If the church loses the city, she has lost the position of influence and power in the whole country.³

The same theme appears in a statement on the Urban Church Effectiveness Study of the National Lutheran Council:

¹The greatest difficulty about the problems of the big city seems to be their quickly changing character. Robert Ezra Park and his students have described the "Human Ecology" of the City (Human Communities: The City and Human Ecology, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952, esp. pp. 223-230; cf. Race and Culture, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950, passim.) and used the term "succession" to describe the population changes incident to the growth of the city and of its various 'natural areas,' especially the movement--by stages--of new immigrants from the central areas of the city--where they settle at first --to more outlying areas. More recently, urban renewal programs have sometimes brought back entirely different populations into the inner city, for example older, well-to-do couples in expensive apartment houses. Successive waves of different kinds of people and, in addition, large numbers of transients in hotels and rooming houses bring with them all the particular problems of juvenile delinquency, uncared for old people, lack of neighborhood integration, deterioration of housing, etc. Changes sometimes occur so fast that the people caught up in them feel "as if the rug were pulled from under us."

²May 3, 1957 (in the files of the NCC).

³Cited in Frances Squire Potter, What is an Effective Church? (NCC, April, 1955), p. 6. (Mimeographed.)

If modern man survives, he will presumably survive as a city dweller. He must, therefore, learn how to live in the city. If the traditional institutions of Protestantism are to be part of that survival, they too must learn how to survive in the city. This, in essence, is the larger purpose of our study.¹

Again, referring more specifically to the "tremendous acculturation process that is going on in urban America," a minister at one of the NCC meetings of 1956 says:

If we succeed in being the instrument out of which community is forged in the great central city areas of the nation, we have gained new life. If we fail we will have died.²

The same minister states that they "are lost physically" if the churches do not cooperate in the planning process that is now shaping the rebuilding of the inner cities. And further he, like many other men concerned with these questions, points to "the vast number of the unchurched" in the cities and to the fact that the movement of people into the cities brings in "great numbers of people of Protestant background." He means by the latter Negroes, who form a substantial part of the population settling in the inner cities, and he deduces from this that the trend for cities to become more and more Roman Catholic strongholds is now reversed, but that it nevertheless remains up to the Protestant churches to win these "essentially Protestant souls."

If survival itself is a clear issue, the way to achieve it is not. "Effectiveness" becomes an issue on the many

¹Karl Hertz, "How Effective?" The City Church (Nov.-Dec., 1957), pp. 7-10.

²Minutes, New York, October 9, 1956 (in the files of the NCC).

occasions when efforts are made to define it, in plans for study and research about it, and whenever its champions voice the hope that it can be attained.

Definition and Evaluation of "Effectiveness"

The nearest approach to an adequate definition of effectiveness occurs in a study report by Frances Squire Potter for The Department of the Urban Church of the NCC published in mimeographed form in April 1955, under the title "What is an Effective City Church?" The question posed remained unanswered and nothing of consequence was added by the later meetings of various groups of churchmen during which details were elaborated. The question must, of course, remain unanswerable as long as there is neither general nor specific agreement on what measures or standards of "effectiveness" should be used.

Two contradictory approaches have found advocates: The first approach, which is exemplified in a book by Ross W. Sanderson, The Church Serves the Changing City (New York, 1955), is the case study approach. In Sanderson's study of eight churches of different denominations, which "effectively" serve different functions in different cities, "it was decided not to attempt evaluations by objective criteria established in advance, but instead to allow each church and agency to be judged in the light of its own acknowledged objectives."

The second approach--if it had ever been tried--would have been to attempt the evaluations by objective criteria established in advance. This approach could not be tried because it proved impossible to set up objective criteria for

"effectiveness"; there was no agreement on definition.

Cutting across these differences is a more basic problem: should the achievement of the churches be measured against their social goals, if any, or against those ultimate goals toward which a better neighborhood is presumably only a means or at best secondary? Attainment of the ultimate goal of saving souls hardly being measurable or provable, the intention of the congregation can be made the decisive point to judge as to whether or not means are being turned into goals. Not surprisingly, it is in the statement of a Lutheran that this is brought up. Karl Hertz, in a "Statement on The Urban Church Effectiveness Study" (1957), written for the NLC, says:

In our research we are asking specifically whether and in what degree responsibility for social problems is seen in this context, i.e., as a duty arising from commitment to an ultimate loyalty, and whether, when this occurs, effective action for meeting social issues has resulted. Religious effectiveness means, therefore, 1. That the membership of a local congregation has perceived a problem, accepted responsibility, taken action, and had some degree of success, and 2. That they have done one or more of these things with specific reference to religion, as religious duties, or as actions proper and necessary for church members to undertake, even if the setting of the action is the community and not the local congregation.

The actual Lutheran study did not devise a method to distinguish between those members of congregations who have the ultimate goal in mind and those who do not; nothing about this appears in the survey questionnaire used for the study.

Those churchmen whom Potter interviewed seem to have left theological matters--and ultimate goals--for the most part undiscussed. The report is based mainly on interviews with pastors, seminary professors and administrators of several

denominations and of the NCC, as well as on official church literature, and it was presented "as an analysis of current thought." First, it compares the views of persons with different relationships to the city church and, second, it describes some of the problems faced in any attempt to evaluate the church. The report was a basis for subsequent discussions which took up and partly implemented--on a denominational basis--the suggestion to do a kind of "consumer research" among the lay members of city churches. The impossibility of deciding on objective criteria on the basis of Potter's report or through discussion not only seriously hampered the survey of opinions on effectiveness among the lay members; it also led, in some quarters, to the mistaken hope that "further research" would lead to a definition of "effectiveness" which could be used for guiding policy. As a staff report to the Department of the Urban Church of the NCC said in May 1956: "This project will fail of a rich promise if it does not help clarify mission, methods, outcomes, and the nature of Christian community." And at the same time a statement on study processes said that a major step in the study entails "discovering through intensive effort against the background of the general profiles the actual degree of the church's effectiveness in meeting its special urban problem and a detailed exploration of the nature and functioning of this 'effectiveness' where conclusively established." But the statement omitted to explain how the "actual degree of effectiveness" could be established without knowledge of the goals to be achieved, or how "the nature and functioning" of something could be explored

if that something was to be defined only in terms of its own nature and functioning!

Apart from the difficulty that no amount of research can give concrete meaning to a concept which has not previously been given a meaning, the difficulties of attaining a concept of "effectiveness" are largely inherent in the situation with which it is supposed to deal. Potter's study report on "What is an Effective City Church?" lists and tries to classify, first, the various kinds of problems facing the city churches, second, the various kinds of churches in the city, and, third, the various kinds of approaches to meeting or avoiding the problems. It also lists numerous criteria for evaluation suggested by the people interviewed--criteria which imply different kinds of objectives.

"Some of the basic important situations which churches might be considered to be effective in handling" are, according to a statement presented at a meeting in May, 1956:

- survival and adjustment to change
- downtown problems
- total neighborhood integration
- transiency
- large housing projects
- youth
- aging
- labor¹

A pamphlet distributed by the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. entitled Program and Parish Criteria for the Urban Church contains the following list:

¹Unpublished, in files of the NCC.

parish administration
 parish financial organization
 parish evangelism
 Christian education
 missionary education
 stewardship education
 parish publicity
 community relationships
 church property¹

And still another kind of list (from an unpublished "Report to the Department of the Urban Church, NCC," May, 1956) reads thus:

What are the deep roots of effectiveness that meet people's needs so redemptively that lives and communities are changed by new infusions of love for God and man? What is the role of the minister? Must we have only outstanding geniuses in effective churches, or is there a quality of lay life that can make pastoral or even preaching genius less essential? Does the large downtown church have a future? Can we match the aggressive zeal of the sect groups in reaching strangers to traditional middle-class Protestantism?

These three examples should make it clear that an almost infinite variety of lists could be drawn up showing problems or areas where churches might be effective.

Generally, not all churches could be expected to be active, much less effective, in all listed areas. There is no typology of city churches on which everybody concerned would agree, but there are several recognized and "traditional" types,² namely, the "downtown church" which is located in the business district of the city, is sometimes of the "cathedral type, but sometimes only a relic; the "neighborhood church," situated in an established residential community from which it draws its members; the suburban church, which is a newly

¹Quoted in Potter, op. cit., p. 41.

²Cf. Potter, op. cit., pp. 11-18.

organized neighborhood church; and finally, the object of our thesis, "the inner city church." According to Potter, the inner city implies, to most people, a blighted area, or at least transition and social change, and the inner city church is seen as situated in a residential neighborhood. Sub-types of the inner city church, listed by Potter, are "the dying church" whose members are moving away and leaving it; "the institutional church" with many organizations and a large program; the "mission" started by a mother church or denomination, usually in the worst slums; the "indigenous churches of the newer population" as, for example, Puerto Ricans or Southern Negroes; the "experimental churches," for example, interdenominational or cooperative churches; "the apartment house church," essentially a neighborhood church which has the problem of reaching the apartment and rooming house dwellers. Obviously, these "types" are not mutually exclusive, are formed according to different criteria, and therefore no "types" in a scientific sense.

Thus there is a great variety in the kinds of churches existing in the city, or even just in "the inner city," and, also in the areas where such churches might show "effectiveness." There is, again, a variety of ways to meet or to avoid the problems inherent in the organization of the church itself, or in its environment.

Roughly, these ways can be seen as varying from one extreme of moving out of a difficult neighborhood and relocating, to the other extreme of becoming an active neighborhood social agency, which, incidentally, is also a church. In between

those two extremes is the church which remains where it is located, but goes on ministering only to those who belong to it, concentrating on the salvation of individual souls without trying to change the neighborhood. Between the two extremes and this point somewhere in the middle, we find all sorts of combinations and attempts at combinations.

In view of the above, it is not surprising that Potter reports of the churchmen interviewed about how to evaluate "effectiveness" that they often end up at one of two extremes: "Either they fall back on the use of member-counts as the only safe measuring rod, or they end up actually judging almost all churches by their 'feel.'"¹ The studies undertaken by several denominations following the NCC meetings try to combine several kinds of possible evaluation criteria, but they are sure to meet with considerable disagreement.

Having traced the difficulties which "effectiveness" presents as an ideological concept and, consequently, as a research concept, we must say, however, that the faults of "effectiveness" are also its virtues. As long as there is no agreement on the finite or earthly goals of the churches, either among Protestants, or among the leaders of denominations, or among the members of individual congregations, and as long as there is, moreover, no agreement on the level of achievement to be demanded if some goal is agreed upon--so long the vague and flexible concept of effectiveness, which carries the sanction of American cultural values, is a good

¹Ibid., p. 63.

stop-gap device. It gives at least some semblance of unity to many dispersed efforts at coping with a perplexing and sometimes hopeless situation. It may, of course, also raise false hopes.

Members and the New Institutional Norm

The subject of the present enquiry is how "effectiveness," introduced as a new norm by the ecclesiastical leadership--and sometimes by lay leaders--fares in Lutheran city congregations of different kinds, in what way and how far effectiveness as a normative prescription is understood and accepted, put into action or adapted and modified. We are thus looking at the matter from the viewpoint of ordinary members of congregations who are, to a large extent, unaware of the developments in Lutheranism and in urban Protestantism traced above. Whether they are aware of these developments and the urban problems which led to the present situation or not, or are partially aware of them, they are all, as members of Lutheran congregations in the inner city, affected by them. At some time or other they have to make up their minds whether they will become an active agency in their neighborhood, or go their separate way, or move away to a new neighborhood.

As we have seen, "effectiveness" is a means of survival in the inner city for the leaders of American Protestantism who are especially concerned about urban problems. From the viewpoint of ecclesiastical leaders of whatever denomination, it is desirable that those congregations which are already established in the changing neighborhoods of the city stay

there and change with the neighborhood by taking in whatever new people arrive, at least replacing those old members who move away, perhaps even growing in membership, remaining financially self-supporting, keeping up a program according to the needs of the changing membership. If the congregations do not manage to do these things, if they do not change with the neighborhood, or if they relocate, the responsibility for the newcomers falls back on the denomination as a whole. In the frequent cases where these newcomers to a changing city neighborhood are not members of one of the major denominations or do not belong to any church at all, the churches feel they have to act because they "cannot let the inner city become churchless and dechristianized." But action would then mean to set up mission churches and to support them or at least to aid locally constituted churches for many years. And if these new, dependent churches want to make an impact on the neighborhood and to win members, they need a relatively large staff, facilities, program--that is, they need more money and personnel than an already established and functioning organization does. From the viewpoint of the denominational administration the arguments are all in favor of congregations staying on in the inner city and developing social activism as an adaptation to their situation. If some theologians, Lutheran and other, have reservations about the premise that "the 'effective' city church should serve the special needs of the people of the cities, face up to the cities' peculiar problems,"¹ they are

¹Report of an NCC administrator, "A City Problem Orientation in the Study of Effective City Churches," October 1956 (unpublished, in the files of the NCC).

not often heard at the conferences dealing with the urban church.¹

For the individual member of a city congregation it is not so 'obvious' as it is for the ecclesiastical administrator that congregations "have an obligation to the community" and should be defined geographically. Why should a congregation whose members, for the most part, no longer live in the neighborhood of the church, not leave the old building and relocate? If it does so, it defines itself as a community of persons and in doing so it can refer to the American tradition of the moving population, setting up its places of worship wherever its log cabins or split-level ranch type houses are erected. The definition of the congregation as a part of the local community--the geographic parish--is only one of two concepts in the New World; it has to compete with the other, the concept of the moving population whose church migrates with it.

Nobody, probably, would reject the assumption that it is the obligation of Christian churches to serve all people, including slum-dwellers. This obligation is, however, by no means always accepted by individual church members of individual congregations but instead is seen as an obligation of the denomination as a whole to which individual members and congregations may have to give their financial and moral support,

¹One such instance is reported in Toward Better City Churches, ed. Ross W. Sanderson, New York: NCC, 1955, as occurring at the conference on the effective city church held in April, 1955, in New York: in the midst of statements on how the churches should meet the needs of the people in the city, Dr. H. Conrad Hoyer, an administrator of the National Lutheran Council, "interjected that the chief purpose of the Church is to bring the Gospel." (p. 27)

perhaps also some of their time, but not more. The parallel is with missionary work: to send out missionaries is an obligation accepted by most church members and congregations, but only a few churches (for example the Mormons, the Seventh Day Adventists) demand that every member be a missionary for some time. To expect that the members of a congregation should feel a special responsibility towards the neighborhood in which their church is located and towards the people who happen to live there--even after these members themselves have moved away--is to expect them to be part-time missionaries. The important fact is that, whatever their personal motivation may be, whether they personally have or have not a feeling of social responsibility, the social structure in their new neighborhood (probably a suburb) does not provide them with motivation to apply themselves in the neighborhood of the old church. On the contrary, in the new neighborhood to which they have moved they are under pressure to devote their free time and resources to the needs of the new community, and what they do there will produce rewards for themselves and their children. Whatever personal loyalties and social relationships to other old members bind them to the old church and neighborhood invariably become weaker as time passes, the change in the old neighborhood and congregation progresses, and new loyalties develop in the new community.

It is quite a different matter to expect those who still live in a changing neighborhood to feel responsible for what goes on there and for integrating the newcomers to the neighborhood into the congregation. Yet many of these people are

waiting only for an opportunity to move. And, moreover, it is the congregation as a whole which has to make a decision about relocating or not relocating; it has to make the decision at a time when it is composed of members who have moved far away, of members who have moved, but not so far, of members who want to move as soon as they can, of members who do not want to move, and of newcomers to the neighborhood. Under these circumstances, advocates of the responsibility of churches to stay and minister to a given neighborhood are tempted to ignore or deny the dilemma and to declare that congregations and all their members have a moral responsibility towards the neighborhood--especially if this neighborhood is seen as deteriorating and needing Christian influence. Under these same circumstances, it is also easy for the individual church member to ignore or to reject through inaction the new norm of social effectiveness.

The protagonists of "effectiveness" as a new norm for religious institutions are aware that a norm has social functions, and believe that it will empower city churches to survive. But there is scant evidence that these church leaders understand the need for providing motivation to individual members of city churches through a system of graded social rewards (or punishments) institutionalized in the congregation. Rather, calls to the individual Christian conscience seem to be deemed the only proper way to get church members to act together. Such calls might--as they have in the past--prove to be effective if the leading lay members in the churches were already converted to the new norm and would,

by their example, exert social pressure on the others, or if extraneous circumstances provided motivation for the members in addition to the exhortations of their church leaders. This seems to happen rarely, so far.¹

Seven Examples of Lutheran City Churches

As mentioned above, the administrators meeting at the NCC conferences felt the need for some "market research" and "consumer survey." The first denomination to undertake this kind of research was the Lutheran Church through its cooperative agency, the National Lutheran Council. The NLC selected twelve urban congregations and used three research instruments, self-study guides for each congregation, intensive interviews with the pastors and five or six members, and mail questionnaires. (For details see Statement on Method.) The field

¹Some of the difficulties of introducing "effectiveness" as a new norm are illustrated by the following finding. For the NLC study on which this enquiry is based, intensive interviews were conducted with the pastor of each congregation studied and with five or six lay members of whom two or three were members of the council or other church officers. The first question of the interview guide runs as follows:

Speaking generally, how effective is this church as compared with other churches you know about?

What makes it effective (ineffective)?

Of the seven pastors whose interviews are used here three mentioned the effectiveness of their church in the neighborhood in answering this question. Of the 37 laymen interviewed in these seven congregations, twelve mentioned the neighborhood and twenty-five spoke of effectiveness in terms of the worship service, the pastor's sermons, the friendliness of the members, or the church's part in their own lives. In two congregations nobody, not even the pastor, mentioned the neighborhood in his answer. This little "association test" illustrates quite well that in Lutheran congregations the term "effective" has not yet the same connotation for the majority of ordinary members as it has for the leaders, but that it does have the same or a similar connotation for a substantial minority of the church members.

work was begun in the spring of 1957 and completed in the fall of that year. The first publication based on these data is The City Church--Death or Renewal? A Study of Eight Urban Lutheran Churches by Walter Kloetzli with an afterword by Charles Y. Glock (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1961).¹ The afterword by Glock relates the NLC study to research done for other denominations. Studies of specific aspects of the NLC material are in progress.

This enquiry is based on the data collected by the NLC, on unpublished conference reports, related published materials and personal observations of the writer. It does not evaluate the "effectiveness" of certain city congregations. It does not produce a more complete or systematic definition of "effectiveness." For reasons given above--reasons inherent in the concept and the study design--these things were not possible. The enquiry tries instead to analyze what is, in the eyes of church members, an "effective" congregation. It does so by analyzing what makes church members satisfied with various aspects of their church's work and what makes them dissatisfied with them. It thus compares--from the viewpoint of the individual respondent--these different aspects of the church's work, which include the work of the pastor, the work of the congregation in general, the work of the congregation on specific neighborhood problems and the church's influence on

¹Field work was conducted in twelve congregations. Of the eight congregations studied by Kloetzli, four are also studied in this enquiry, though from different viewpoints. The four churches called "Zion," "Bethlehem," "Our Saviour's," and "St. Mark's," by Kloetzli, are called "St. Mark's," "Trinity," "St. Matthew's," and "St. Luke's" in this enquiry.

the personal religious feelings of the members. The comparison shows how far concern for the social problems of the neighborhood and of the city is considered a part of "the job" of the congregation, that is, how far the new norm of "effectiveness" has been understood and accepted by the members and under what circumstances. It thus permits conclusions about the function "effectiveness" has or has not for individual members of Lutheran city churches in contrast to the function "effectiveness" is expected to have for the churches as social institutions. Chapter VIII will return to this question.

CHAPTER II

A SURVEY OF THE SEVEN CONGREGATIONS: THEIR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SITUATIONS

Seven congregations--out of twelve in the NLC study--have been chosen as cases for a comparative study. Each congregation will now be described very briefly to give the reader necessary background material. There are three congregations which show themselves--by the respondents' answers to questions in the mail questionnaire--relatively "satisfied" with their own performance and four congregations which show themselves relatively "dissatisfied." Each congregation has been given a fictitious name: the three "satisfied" congregations are called St. Peter's, Trinity, and Zion, and the four "dissatisfied" congregations are named after the four evangelists, St. Matthew's, St. Mark's, St. Luke's, and St. John's.

The seven churches belong to four of the largest Lutheran synods. Three, St. Peter's, Zion, and St. Luke's, represent the United Lutheran Church, which has two million members, mostly in the East; two, Trinity and St. Mark's, represent the Augustana synod, which has 600,000 members and a midwestern, Swedish background; one, St. Matthew's, represents the Evangelical Lutheran Church, which has a midwestern, Norwegian background and more than a million members, one; St. John's, is affiliated with the American Lutheran Church, which has a German background.

In this enquiry, however, differences between synods could not be explored. The congregations studied are not necessarily "typical" of their respective synods.

Though the congregations vary in size (active communicant membership varies from about 200 to 1300¹), each has only one pastor. They are all situated in central areas of big American cities and thus share some common problems: the changeover from ethnically oriented congregations of Swedish, Norwegian, or German background to ethnically, or even racially inclusive congregations; the upward social mobility of the old constituency and the consequent "flight to the suburbs," which leaves the old churches with reduced financial and leadership resources amidst mostly non-Lutheran neighborhoods; the necessity to make a decision--now or later--about the church's relationship to its neighborhood, whether it will become a true neighborhood church or merely a gathering place for a special kind of members; the relationship of the pastor with his council and other church officers, and with the more or less involved members.

Apart from the things they have in common, each of the seven cases is a very special case with its unique history and present situation. The neighborhoods of the churches vary greatly as to their present condition and also as to the sort and rate of change going on there. Thus, there is a variety of external problems challenging the churches, and there is also variety of internal problems as among the seven cases.

¹Active communicant members are those who come to the church for Holy Communion at least once a year.

The uniqueness of each case is due, to a considerable extent, to the importance of the pastor in American Lutheran churches and thus to the interplay of the pastors' personalities with the respective congregations and situations.

It has been found that, although all cases have some common attributes, and although there are also groups of cases with common attributes, the differences within each group are so great that to speak of "a type" would be useless for analysis. If, in this inquiry, the seven congregations are divided into "satisfied" and "dissatisfied" congregations, according to the rates of answers to a certain survey question, this grouping is something to be explained, not something which explains the state of the congregations. The formation of "types" as an explanatory device would be useful only if the number of cases were large enough to permit of averaging out the differences. With seven congregations we must be content largely with comparisons between cases.

The following descriptions of the seven congregations--their internal situation, their neighborhood and their special problems--are based on the three instruments used in the NLC study: the self-studies of the congregations, the detailed interviews with the pastors and selected members, and the mail questionnaires. (For a description of these instruments, see the Statement on Method.) In addition, my personal observations and interviews, as well as communications from other people concerned with the study, have been used. The tables at the end of this chapter contain overall percentages of answers to the mail questionnaire which show the distribution

of basic characteristics among the respondents in each congregation. Answers to questions concerning the neighborhood of the churches are tabulated at the end of Chapter IV, rates of satisfaction at the end of Chapter VII.

The "Complacent" Congregation of St. Peter's

This is the biggest of the seven congregations. The church building is located some four miles from the center of a large eastern city. The neighborhood is partly industrial; the houses are modest to poor and often neglected as former residents slowly move out and people with a poorer background --though not necessarily poor now--move in. The area is predominantly white still, of varied nationality, mostly Catholic, a strong segment of Italians, but the number of Negroes is increasing. Almost half of our respondents live within ten blocks from the church, a fact which agrees with the pastor's statement that "half or a little better of the more active members live" in the neighborhood.

According to the self-study, the confirmed membership is 2488 and there are 1346 active communicant members, 54% of the membership. Of our 339 respondents barely half were Lutherans before they joined this congregation. This church began with a group which had broken away from a Presbyterian church because it objected to a ruling oligarchy there. Ninety-six per cent of the respondents and 71% of their fathers are U.S. born--the highest percentages among our seven cases. The respondents show a somewhat higher proportion of men (40%) than the other congregations. St. Peter's is one of the three

relatively "young" congregations with 63% of the respondents under fifty. The educational level of the respondents is low with only 34% who have graduated from high school or gone to college. There are about twice as many blue collar workers and their families among our respondents as white collar workers and among the short-term members (less than five years) there are more than three times as many blue collar as white collar workers. This finding agrees with the pastor's complaint about the growing lack of lay leadership due to the new members' lesser training and initiative. He says, however, that the class level of the congregation is still above that of the neighborhood.

According to the self-study, the communicant membership of St. Peter's rose from 826 members in 1940 to 1346 members in 1955. The Sunday School had 1005 members enrolled in 1955. The proportion of 30% short-term members (under five years) among our respondents is what is usual among the seven cases. Giving has increased a little over the years, but only a little.

St. Peter's did the self-study in a cursory way. Average attendance at the two Sunday services is reported to be 485 people, i.e., 20% of the confirmed or 36% of the communicant membership. Forty-eight per cent of our respondents say that they attend Sunday service "at least 3 times a month." It is in keeping with prior survey experience to assume that the more active members of this large congregation also tended to fill out the questionnaire. Five organized groups for adults meet regularly. Thirty-eight per cent of our respondents belong to one or more of these groups; 16% hold

responsible positions.¹

According to the report of the study director, not all 2500 confirmed members got a mail questionnaire, but a random sample of 615, and thus an estimated 449 communicant members received one. Usable returns were obtained from 339 people. We have thus a return rate of 76% of the addressed communicant members.

The chief problem of St. Peter's is the slow deterioration of the neighborhood, the departure to the suburbs of people with leadership abilities and the tendency to let the pastor, who is fatherly and enormously popular, run the whole show. The majority of respondents regard the problems of the congregation as "about the same" in difficulty as those confronting other congregations. Seventy per cent of the respondents, the highest proportion among the seven cases, think the congregation is doing a very good job. Ninety-three per cent, again the highest proportion among the seven cases, think the pastor is "very successful" in his job. St. Peter's is the most "satisfied" of the congregations.

It is also quite confident about the job it is doing in the neighborhood. The interviews show that members are especially proud of a clinic run by the church and headed by a Jewish doctor which is open to everybody. There is relatively small concern about the problems in the neighborhood although

¹The questionnaire enumerates the following positions:

Member of the Church Council	Sunday School Teacher
Member of a Church Committee	Member of the Choir
Officer of the Sunday School	Officer of a Church Organization

most respondents (65%) judge the area to be only "a fairly nice place to live." Nineteen per cent of the respondents say the neighborhood has changed "for the worse" over the last year; most say that it has not been changing very much. The congregation has not yet faced up to the problem of the influx of Negroes into the area and possible integration; it has a relatively very high proportion of respondents (31%) who say their congregation should not accept as members persons of all races. At the time of the study, St. Peter's is a big church which, just the same, has a friendly atmosphere. It does not make too many demands on the members. Nobody wants to stir things up. This is the complacent congregation.

The "Proud" Congregation of Trinity

The especially neat looking building of Trinity Church with its surrounding lawn and shrubs is situated in an area of middle-class family homes with small gardens in a large midwestern city. The area has become almost completely Negro --middle class Negro, that is--during the five years prior to the study. At the time of the study, the pastor judged the congregation to be about one-third Negro; our respondents, however, are just half Negro. The White members who continue to come to their former neighborhood church now live at varying distances, but not especially often far away by comparison with our other congregations. At the time when Negroes began to predominate in the neighborhood (about 1950), the congregation, under the energetic leadership of its pastor, not only integrated itself, but also played a leading role in easing

the integration process in the area and in organizing community projects. There was considerable resistance to overcome, but the congregation also became well-known in the city and beyond, and got a good deal of publicity.

The self-study reports 976 confirmed members and 706 communicant members, that is, 72% of the membership. Almost all the Negro members belonged to some other denomination before they joined this church; almost all the White members were Lutheran. Only 11% of the present membership is foreign born and 38% have foreign born fathers, while until about 10 years before the study this congregation was still a "Swedish" congregation. Among our respondents one finds the usual one to two ratio of men to women. There is a two-thirds majority of people under fifty, but the Negro members are much younger: 87% of them are under fifty, while 49% of the White members are.

The educational level in Trinity is higher than in any other congregation, largely because of the Negroes. Sixty-nine per cent of the White respondents have graduated from high school, or have attended or graduated from college. Among the Negroes the proportion is 92%, due, in part, probably to their younger age-level. Among all our respondents, more than half are white collar workers. Among the short-term members (under five years), who are mostly Negro, white collar workers are even more frequent than among the long-term members.

According to the self-study, membership had gone up until 1950, had gone down a little by 1956 and was increasing again when the study was made. Sunday School enrollment is reported for 1957 as 248. All contributions show an increase

since 1940 and a fast rise since 1953.

The membership figures for 1950 (713 communicants) and 1956 (665 communicants) are rather close, but 55% of our respondents had, in the spring of 1957, been members for only five years or less. We must therefore assume a high turnover of members at the time of integration. It is true that the return is only 53% from communicant members and that the sample is likely to be biased in favor of the newer members, mostly Negroes, who are of a higher educational level and perhaps also more interested in this study, and therefore more likely to fill out a questionnaire. (They also form a higher proportion in our sample than the pastor thinks they really are.) But we can also assume that some of the older members who are still on Trinity's list are no longer interested in the church and therefore did not answer the questionnaire, and that our respondents thus represent the composition of the present active membership.

In the self-study, an average attendance of 32% of the confirmed and 45% of the communicant members is reported for the two Sunday services together, about 315 people. Sixty-eight per cent of our respondents say that they attend Sunday service "at least three times a month" (67% of the Negroes and 70% of the Whites). High participation is likely to be another bias characteristic of our sample of the congregation. There are ten organized groups meeting regularly, half of them for the children, and 66% of the respondents, more Negroes than Whites, belong to one or more of the adult groups. Thirty-eight per cent of the respondents, again more Negroes than

Whites, hold some responsible office. Most of those people who hold some of the more responsible offices seem to have filled out the questionnaire, while Sunday School teachers are, as in almost all cases, under-represented. The number of offices (112 according to the self-study) is high for the size of the congregation and reflects its neighborhood concerns.

The main problem of Trinity is, obviously, how to continue an experiment begun so successfully after severe struggles --especially, how to continue now that the pastor who had carried off the experiment and instilled a sense of mission in the congregation has left. But this problem was still only a possibility at the time of the study; the pastor left a year later. The experiment might be considered a failure if more and more White members of the congregation should leave the church or cease to participate, just as they actually have gradually moved out of the neighborhood in spite of its well-kept, pleasant appearance. This too is a problem for the future, but it is on the members' minds.

Sixty-five per cent of the Whites and only 22% of the Negroes rate the problems of their congregation "more difficult" than those of other churches; 47% of the Negroes and 22% of the Whites rate them the same. They are closer together on how to rate "the job the congregation is doing": 69% of the Negroes and 58% of the Whites rate it "a very good job." They are still closer together on how to rate the pastor's job: 96% of the Negroes and 87% of the Whites rate him "very successful."

There is also a high awareness of specific city and

neighborhood problems in Trinity and a high appreciation of what the congregation is doing about them, with only small differences between the White and Negro members. This is different, of course, when the respondents are asked to rate the all-Negro neighborhood, but it gets a rating as "a very nice place to live" by 73% of all our respondents. Practically all (92%) agree that the people in the neighborhood have changed over the last five years, but there is no agreement as to what has happened to the neighborhood over the last year.

At the time of the study, Trinity is the very model of a successfully integrated church. It is conscious and proud of this fact. It is also divided into those for whom it is a real neighborhood church and those who still say that it has an obligation to the neighborhood but themselves no longer live there. This division is accentuated by the color-line which is forever present in everybody's mind.

The "Contented" Congregation of Zion

The building of Zion Church is located on a side street of a thoroughfare in a large eastern city. Next to the church, there is now a fairly well off Jewish section, a few streets away a poorer Irish Catholic section, and some parts of the neighborhood are rather poor, with Puerto Ricans moving in. Some Protestants are left in the area. A good third of the respondent-members live within ten blocks of the church; more live at a distance of over 30 blocks.

According to the self-study, the confirmed membership is 409 and there are 262 (64%) active communicant members.

Of the 256 respondents three-fourths have a Lutheran background; one-fourth is foreign born and two-thirds have foreign born fathers, mostly German. The proportion of one to two for men and women is about normal in our sample of congregations, but the proportion of unmarried, widowed or divorced women (34% of the congregation) is unusually high. Zion is relatively old with 55% of the respondents over fifty. This fact is related to the relatively low educational level of the respondents of whom 44% have graduated from high school or gone to college. According to the self-study, white collar workers and their families preponderate over blue collar workers, and this is so among our respondents also.

The membership, which had been going down for a decade, started to increase in 1952 (234 communicant members) to reach 262 communicant members in 1956. The Sunday School enrollment also increased during these years. Further, all contributions rose, especially in 1955-56. The proportion of long-term members, 67%, to people who have joined during the last five years, 30%, in our sample is normal among the seven congregations.

According to the self-study, average attendance at Sunday services is about 177 people, 43% of the confirmed and 68% of the communicant members. Of our respondents, 50% say they attend Sunday services at least three times a month. Five organized adult groups meet regularly. Fifty per cent of the respondents say they belong to one or more of these groups, and 32% say they hold some responsible position.

The study had the enthusiastic support of the pastor and

this probably explains in part the exceptionally high return rate on the mail questionnaires: 98% of the communicant members filled out the questionnaire.

The main problem of Zion is that so many of its former members have moved far away, especially young married couples. Also, this age group can hardly be replaced, at least not on the same socio-economic level, as it becomes more and more common that young married couples move to the suburbs. The congregation, as represented by our respondents, views its problems as of "about the same" magnitude as the problems of other city congregations. A good majority (62%) of our respondents also think that "all in all, the congregation is doing a very good job." Zion is the third of our "satisfied" congregations. It is also "satisfied" with the job the pastor is doing: 85% rate him "very successful."

Confidence is not so high when it comes to particular problems prevalent in the city or the neighborhood of the church. More respondents say that such problems exist than that the congregation is doing a very good job with them. Since only a third of the respondents live within ten blocks of the church, it is to be understood that attitudes towards the neighborhood are mixed: a minority of 44% thinks it is "a very nice place to live"; most respondents (54%) think it has not been changing very much over the last year, but 27% think it has been changing "for the worse."

Changes in the neighborhood of Zion have been going on for a long time. They are viewed unfavorably by the members, but there is no urgency about this situation, nor about the

fact that the congregation has relatively too many old members. The pastor is trying--quite successfully--to bring young people (teenage and up) from the neighborhood into the congregation. He is trying to keep the church alive in spite of its desertion by many of its old members. This is a transitional church, one which is trying to adjust to a changed environment with, as yet, uncertain success. Meanwhile, participation is high, the members think very well of their pastor and quite well of their own job and, generally, do not seem to be bothered much about the future. They form a contented congregation.

The "Retreating" Congregation of St. Matthew's

The church building of St. Matthew's is situated in what was once a homogeneous, attractive neighborhood near the state capitol of a midwestern state and is now a slum. The population is mixed, White and Negro. About half the people are Catholic, among the others most do not belong to any church. The former private homes are converted into small apartments and rooming houses. There are relatively few families, but older people, single young people and many transients. Redevelopment, at the time of the study, had reduced the population somewhat but had not raised the socio-economic level. There are plans for further redevelopment which would do that. Only 12% of the respondent-members live within ten blocks of the church; 62% (the largest proportion among the seven cases) live more than 30 blocks away. Though situated downtown, St. Matthew's is not at all a typical downtown church. The building is run-down, unattractive to status-seekers.

The self-study reports 1189 confirmed and 884 active communicant members, that is, 74% of all those on the church's list. Seventy per cent of the 302 communicant respondents were Lutherans before joining this church; they are 89% U.S.-born and 45% have U.S.-born fathers; the background of the others is mostly Scandinavian. There is the normal one to two ratio of men to women among the respondents, but unmarried men are even scarcer than usual: there are six to seven unmarried women to every unmarried man.¹ Exactly half of the respondents are under fifty years old. Fifty-five per cent have graduated from high school or gone to college. At the time of the study, according to the respondents, the proportions of white collar and blue collar workers are equal, but, while white collars predominate among the older members, blue collars predominate considerably among the short-term members (five years or less). Twenty-eight per cent of the respondents are short-term members.

The membership had declined for several years until 1948 (882 members), but gone up again since 1953. For 1956, 862 active communicant members are reported and 270 members of the Sunday School. It is not possible to assess increases or decreases in giving as in the other cases because the manner of budgeting has been changed. This church has special financial problems which cause trouble in the congregation.

According to the self-study, average attendance at the

¹Only one of the twelve pastors interviewed for the NLC study--a pastor whose congregation is not treated in this enquiry--mentioned the problem of single women hoping to find a congenial Christian husband in their congregation and then realizing that very few unmarried men join a church.

Sunday service is 405 people, or 34% of the confirmed and 46% of the communicant membership. Fifty-seven per cent of the respondents say that they attend Sunday service "at least 3 times a month." This congregation has a very great number of organizations, which meet regularly, 17 in all, 10 of them for adults. Forty-nine per cent of the respondents belong to one or more of these groups--not a high proportion, especially considering the large number of groups. Twenty-eight per cent of the respondents hold some responsible office.

St. Matthew's does not ordinarily distinguish between "confirmed" and "communicant" members and an exact return rate for communicant members cannot, therefore, be established. But, as the return rate for confirmed members is 67%, the best among our seven cases, the one for communicant members is sure to be adequate.

The blight in the neighborhood of the church is the main problem of this congregation from which stems its second big problem, a difference of opinion between the pastor and a minority in the congregation on the one side and the majority of the congregation on the other about what should be done with regard to the people now living in this neighborhood and how the congregation should conceive its role there.

Fifty-one per cent of the respondents view the problems of the congregation as "about the same," but a sizable minority of 22% view them as "more difficult," than those of other congregations. Just one-third of the respondents think the congregation is doing a very good job; 54% rate the pastor "very successful" in doing his job. St. Matthew's is the first of

our four "dissatisfied" congregations. A similar relation as for perception of problems in general and general satisfaction can be seen for perception of specific city and neighborhood problems--which is relatively high--and appreciation of what the congregation is doing about them which is relatively low.

St. Matthew's is the congregation which has the lowest opinion of the neighborhood of the church. Not even as many respondents as are living within ten blocks call it "a very nice place to live," and 60% call it "rather poor." Fifty-five per cent, however, think the neighborhood has changed for the better during the last year; so there is some hope. But interest in the neighborhood is low. In contract to all other cases, the members who live far away are the more active participants in the life of the church. Members have left the neighborhood and they do not want to get mixed up with its problems, as the pastor thinks they should. This is also a question of money. Among the long-term, well entrenched and active members there is a group which stands in opposition to the pastor. The majority of St. Matthew's has retreated from the neighborhood of the church, which has become a slum. A totally new situation will confront the congregation, should the redevelopment just begun bring a new kind of people into the neighborhood. But that is for a future study.

The "Disintegrating" Congregation of St. Mark's

The area around St. Mark's has become a port-of entry for rural southern Negroes migrating to the large midwestern city. Before, it had been a modest neighborhood with a poor

population, mixed white and colored, but quiet. Now there is racial tension, and the white residents are gradually moving away. Of our respondents, 23% still live within ten blocks of the church, but half live more than 30 blocks away.

According to the self-study, the confirmed membership is 957 and the communicant membership 562, or 59%. About 4% of the communicants were Negroes at the time of the study (23 members), but their number was increasing rapidly and the Sunday School was already mostly Negro. Of our 211 respondents, only eight are Negroes, which makes it impossible to say anything about their attitudes. Sixty-four per cent of the respondents were Lutherans before joining this congregation; 82% are U.S.-born and 32% have U.S.-born fathers. Until about 10 years ago, this congregation was still largely a "Swedish" community. There is the "normal" one to two ratio between men and women. Fifty-two per cent of the respondents are under fifty. The educational level of the respondents is also as it is in the majority of the seven cases: 49% have graduated from high school or gone to college. The socio-economic level of the respondents is above that of the neighborhood. There are about as many blue collar workers among all of the respondents as white collar workers; among the short-term members, however, blue collar workers are a majority. Most of the new members come from the neighborhood of the church.

The membership, which had been steady until 1952-53 (678 communicants) began to decline at that time and stood at 551 communicants in 1956. Sunday School enrollment declined from 240 in 1950 to 189 in 1956. This is the only case where

a large number of respondents say the congregation is losing members. There is a high turnover of members. In four years prior to the study, the congregation lost about 350 communicant members, about half its active membership, while gaining 222 new members. These new members are under-represented in our sample: only 24% of our respondents are short-term members, that is, of five years standing or less. The relatively low return from the newer members is probably due to their lower socio-economic level, already mentioned.

Since the peak year of 1955, financial contributions have also been declining considerably. The self-study (concluded in the fall of 1957, more than six months later than the mail-survey) notes that "a radical drop in church attendance plus an acceleration of transfers out of our parish, places us on the threshold of an emergency situation. Faced with an inadequate staff, large overhead on our physical plant, and a swiftly changing neighborhood we must consider a more adequate program and seek new financial support if we are to continue as a parish." Average weekly attendance at Sunday services was, according to the self-study, 157 members, 36% of the "contributing" members, in 1957. Fifty-one per cent of our respondents still claim (six months earlier) to go to church "at least 3 times a month."

The congregation has three organized groups for adults and seven for children. Fifty-five per cent of our respondents belong to one or more of the three adult groups, mostly to the Women's Guild. Office-holders are well represented in our sample: 28% of our respondents hold some position, about as

many as there can be according to the self-study.

Mail questionnaires were sent to 598 confirmed members. No record of active communicant members was kept, but the report accompanying the self-study lists, for the first six months of 1957 (when the questionnaires were mailed), 438 "contributing" members. Our usable returns of communicant members (211 respondents) are 48% of these "contributing" members. Thus, the return rate is very low, short-term members are under-represented, but we can hardly expect anything else from a congregation "on the threshold of an emergency situation." It can be assumed that many members, still on the books, no longer considered themselves as active members or members of any sort.

To the grave problems facing St. Mark's which have already been mentioned, we have to add that the pastor pursues a neighborhood-oriented integration policy in an energetic manner, without, apparently, noticing that a large segment of the congregation is not at all ready to follow him. Thirty-one per cent of our respondents think St. Mark's should not accept as members persons of all races--something it is already doing. Our respondents are the most apprehensive group among the seven cases about the problems their congregation is facing: 58% of them think these problems are "more difficult" than those of other churches. They also hold the record for discerning specific problems in the area. On the other hand, the respondents are not the most pessimistic when it comes to judging how good a job the congregation is doing in general or on specific problems: 28% think it is doing "a very

good job, all in all," and they thus rank as the second among the "dissatisfied" congregations. On judging the pastor, the respondents split evenly into those who rate him "very successful" and those who do not. His energy in bringing in new members to replace those he is losing does not go unnoticed.

If St. Matthew's has a very low opinion of the neighborhood of its church, St. Mark's thinks even less of its neighborhood. Only 3% of our respondents say it is "a very nice place to live," 21% rate it "fairly nice" (these are about as many as live within ten blocks) and 67% say it is a "rather poor" place. Ninety-five per cent of the respondents of St. Mark's say that there has been a change in the kind of people living around the church, and this change, our respondents think, is all for the worse: the newcomers not only make the neighborhood "worse," they also make the congregation "weaker"; 75% of the respondents say that the neighborhood has changed "for the worse" during the last year--a judgment quite unparalleled among our seven cases.

The study has caught St. Mark's in the middle of a crisis. There was high racial tension in the whole area and the congregation was caught up in this situation. We cannot, of course, tell whether the crisis would have become acute less quickly under another kind of pastoral leadership. But we can see that at the time of the study the old congregation is practically disintegrating, while there are yet no signs of a new one being formed out of parts of the old one together with new forces from the neighborhood.

The "Uneasy" Congregation of St. John's

St. John's is an inconspicuous little building at the edge of a large eastern city. It lies at the foot of a hill with pleasant, middle-class, older single-family houses from which many of the older members come. The immediate neighborhood is partly industrial and commercial, built up mainly during the last 30 years. The population is perhaps half Catholic, having large Jewish segments in the other half. More recently (1952), a big city housing project has brought in many new residents of middle-class background, but, as the project is interracial, attitudes towards its inhabitants are mixed among our respondents. The pastor and some of the members also include in "the neighborhood of the church" a residential section on another hill, constantly visible from the church. This section is decidedly expensive, newly developed, and mainly Jewish. Halfway up that hill, there is a Presbyterian church, which looks much more like a church to which people from that section would go if they go to any Protestant church. In St. John's, it is a problem how to define "the neighborhood"--and that not only for our study, but also for the congregation itself.

Of all seven congregations, St. John's has the largest proportion of respondents living within ten blocks of the church; the proportion is almost three-quarters. They are largely of German background (about one-fourth foreign-born, 61% with foreign-born fathers), and 70% have been Lutherans before joining. As one would expect in a small church, membership is relatively homogeneous.

According to the self-study, confirmed membership is 374

and the active communicant membership 300 (80%). We have 215 communicant respondents, of whom 36% are men (about the usual) and 66% are under fifty. The congregation is thus the second youngest after Trinity. Half the respondents have graduated from high school or gone to college. There are about as many white collar as blue collar workers in the sample, but among the newer members (five years or less) blue collars preponderate somewhat and among the long-term members white collars. Thirty per cent of the respondents are short-term members. There is no sign that a big turnover has occurred.

Membership has been growing between 1940 and 1950 but then began to decline (from 350 communicant members in 1950 to 286 in 1956), while Sunday School enrollment stayed about the same (146 in 1956) and total benevolences were even increasing.

Average attendance at Sunday services is, according to the self-study, 159 people, 53% of the communicants, 42% of the confirmed membership. Of the respondents, 59% say they go to church "at least 3 times a month." There are not many organized groups in the congregation: besides the Junior Choir (children only) and the Choir, there is only the Luther League (for ages 14-21) to which some of our respondents might belong, and the Women's Missionary Society; the latter, however, is an important group in the congregation. Forty per cent of the respondents say they belong to one or more of these organizations. Regular attendance seems to be low, according to the self-study. Thirty per cent of our respondents say they hold some responsible position, rather more than

one would expect from the self-study, which does not list quite as many committee positions as there are committee members among the respondents, namely, 31.

The return rate on the mail questionnaire is 72% of the communicant members.

There are no acute problems in St. John's, but the pastor and some of the members feel that, if the congregation just goes on serving a friendly little gathering of nice, middle-class, German-background members, it is bound to fade away. Thus the problem is how to stir up the membership and to devise a new policy of some sort. A higher proportion of respondents than in any other case (62%) thinks St. John's has "about the same" problems as others have. (Almost nobody ever thinks his congregation has "less difficult" problems!) But, just the same, this is not at all a satisfied congregation. Having no particularly difficult problems, the congregation nevertheless seems to feel that something should be done: only 24% of the respondents say that the congregation is doing "a very good job," and ratings on what the congregation is doing about specific neighborhood and city problems are especially low. Neighborhood problems are seen to exist, but whether or not they should be a concern of the congregation is an area of disagreement. The pastor, of course, is a key figure in the inner conflict, or rather, lack of consensus, in the congregation. Only 48% of the respondents say he is "very successful" in doing his job.

There is also discernible a--still moderate--discontent with the neighborhood and changes in the neighborhood although

almost three-fourths of the respondents still live there. Something has to be done. The congregation is uneasy. But between the old-time members, who want to preserve their little club, and the younger members and the pastor, who are more ambitious (no agreement on just how and where ambition should operate!), there is no open breach, and therefore most things go on as before.

The "Divided" Congregation of St. Luke's

St. Luke's has a relatively old tradition as a "friendly," German family church in a middle-class residential neighborhood in a large eastern city. The area has come down in certain parts, becoming more commercial and lower middle-class though at the same time a big upper middle-class housing development has risen across the street. The former members of the congregation, moving up on the status-ladder, have gone to the suburbs. Some still come to the church, but their children no longer do. More than half of our respondents live within ten blocks of the church, but we cannot judge from that how many members of the congregation live as near as that since the return rate is very low and also biased.

In St. Luke's all figures are unreliable in themselves and can only be used in relation to each other. The congregation has not had a valid membership list for a long time, it seems; the figure of 313 "confirmed members" in the self-study is certainly much inflated, or rather, out of date, and so is the figure for "active communicant members," 184. There were almost 100 people present at a meeting of the congregation

held to vote on the pastor's retirement), and the active membership is probably not much bigger. We are not even quite sure exactly how many questionnaires were mailed in St. Luke's because the mailing list was in such a state of disorder.

"About 175" mailings brought in 71 replies of which 59 are used here. This is an overall return of 41%. The return rate for communicant members cannot be established because it is not known how many of the 175 people addressed were communicants, but it can be assumed that it was higher than 41%.

There were--to make matters more complicated--complaints from active members who had not received a questionnaire; they had not received it probably because they were not on the church's mailing list. Only a new survey could--possibly--establish what biases have thus got into the sample. The anti-pastor bias will be treated in Chapter III. In spite of all that has been said, the results of the survey are not useless but bring out the internal situation of the congregation quite clearly. It is a crisis situation about which there is also a lot of material in the interviews and self-study.

Of our respondents, 77% were Lutherans before joining this congregation. Eighty per cent are U.S.-born but only 21% have U.S.-born fathers; most fathers were German. The ratio of men to women is normal among the respondents (about one to two), the proportion of single, widowed or divorced women, however, is the highest among the seven cases, 43%. Fifty-eight per cent of the respondents are over fifty, 53% have graduated from high school or gone to college; 51% are white collar

workers and only 22% blue collar workers, and the newer members--who constitute 25% of the membership--are on an even higher occupational level than the long-term members. In all these respects, our 59 respondents seem to be at least not atypical of the membership.

According to the self-study, average attendance at Sunday service is 86 people. Counts on three consecutive Sundays yield, however, an average attendance of only 50 people. (This is also reported in the self-study.) Seventy-three per cent of our respondents say they go to church "at least 3 times a month." Sixty-one per cent say they belong to one or more of the five organized groups. Forty-seven per cent hold some responsible position.

The chief problem of St. Luke's is, again, that too many of its former members have moved away and that it has not yet made up its mind what to do about it. In this case, however, the pastor is on the side of the conservative forces and the reformist, neighborhood-oriented group with evangelistic zeal is under the leadership of a powerful 'lay Pope.' This internal stress situation came to the final crisis some months after the study was made.

Thirty-four per cent of the respondents say the problems of their congregation are "more difficult" than those of others; 44% say they are "about the same." Awareness of specific problems in the neighborhood and city is also not especially high. As to rating the job the congregation is doing "all in all," or on these specific problems, this is our worst case: only 20% of the respondents think the

congregation is doing "a very good job." The difference between the other three "dissatisfied" congregations and St. Luke's is, however, much greater in the rating of the pastor: only 22% of the St. Luke's respondents say he is "very successful" in doing his job (the next lowest rating is 48%--St. John's). The pastor himself may have contributed to this low rating by discouraging his friends from filling out the questionnaire through his negative attitude towards the study.

Fifty-four per cent of the respondents rate the neighborhood of the church only "a fairly nice place to live," and 34% rate it "a very nice place," but there is a fair majority (66%) for the statement that the neighborhood has been changing for the better lately. It is not the socio-economic or class level of the new people in the area that puts off members of St. Luke's but the fact that these new people are different, not of German, not of Lutheran, often not even of Protestant background. Should the congregation really make an effort to draw them in? It is deeply divided over this issue. At the time of the study, the old, German family church was about to decide what its future was to be.

Satisfaction in Seven Congregations

The foregoing survey of the seven congregations shows the great variety in background, environment and problems confronting these churches, but it also shows that some problems affect all of them to some degree. None of them is free of problems. The most striking result from the mail questionnaire is, however, the wide range of satisfaction with the

congregations' performance expressed by the respondents:

"All in all, how good a job do you think your congregation is doing?"

Percentage of respondents who say "Very good job."

<u>St. Peter's</u>	<u>Trinity</u>	<u>Zion</u>	<u>St. Matthew's</u>	<u>St. Mark's</u>	<u>St. John's</u>	<u>St. Luke's</u>
70%	64%	62%	33%	28%	24%	20%

These judgments by the members of the congregations themselves seem to provide the best summary estimate of the present state of the churches.

TABLE 1--CHAPTER II
MEMBERSHIP AND RETURN RATES

	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
*Confirmed membership: about	2500	1000	400	1200	1000	400	300
*Active communicant membership	54% (1200)	72% (700)	64% (250)	74% (900)	59% (550)	80% (300)	59% (200)
*Average Sunday Service attendance (per cent of communicants)	36%	45%	62%	46%	36%	53% ^a	47%
Return rates for mail questionnaires ^b (See also Statement on Method)							
*Active, communicant members who got questionnaires	449	433	262	492 ^c	438 ^d	300	175 ^c
Return rate of usable questionnaires	76% (339)	53% (231)	98% (256)	61% (302)	48% (211)	72% (215)	34% (59)

*From the Self-study. (Figures rounded off to the next 50.)

^aThirty-six per cent of "contributing" members in 1957.

^bMail questionnaires were sent to all confirmed members on the church's list except in St. Peter's where only every third member on the list got a questionnaire and St. Matthew's where two-thirds of the members got one.

^cIn these two cases, the number of active communicant members who got mail questionnaires cannot be estimated. The two figures given are those of all members who got questionnaires. The return rates are thus depressed and look lower than they probably are.

^dThis congregation does not list "communicant" members, but lists these "contributing" members for 1957.

TABLE 2--CHAPTER II

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
Percentage of Respondents							
<u>"How far do you live from the church?"</u>							
Up to 10 blocks	48 (161)	45 (104)	35 (90)	13 (39)	24 (50)	72 (155)	61 (36)
11 to 30 blocks	20 (69)	30 (70)	27 (69)	22 (67)	27 (57)	14 (29)	14 (8)
More than 30 blocks	32 (109)	25 (57)	38 (97)	65 (195)	49 (104)	14 (31)	25 (15)
<u>"Marital status by sex:"</u>							
Men, married	28 (95)	25 (57)	23 (59)	29 (86)	25 (52)	23 (50)	23 (14)
Men, not married	12 (40)	8 (18)	10 (26)	4 (13)	11 (23)	12 (25)	13 (8)
Women, married	39 (132)	40 (93)	33 (85)	39 (116)	37 (77)	39 (84)	21 (13)
Women, not married	21 (70)	27 (62)	34 (86)	28 (85)	27 (59)	26 (54)	43 (26)
<u>"Age:"</u>							
Up to 50 years	63 (215)	68 (156)	45 (114)	50 (150)	52 (110)	66 (142)	39 (23)
Over 50 years	36 (123)	32 (75)	55 (141)	50 (151)	48 (101)	34 (73)	58 (34)
<u>"Length of membership:"</u>							
Up to 5 years	30 (102)	55 (127)	30 (78)	28 (84)	24 (50)	30 (64)	25 (15)
More than 5 years	68 (231)	44 (101)	67 (172)	71 (215)	74 (155)	70 (150)	71 (42)

Note: Numbers in brackets (N) following the percentage figures give the number of respondents.

TABLE 2--CHAPTER II--Continued

	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
Percentage of Respondents							
<u>"Were you a member of this denomination before you joined this congregation?"</u>							
YES	⁴⁹ (166)	⁴⁵ (103)	⁷³ (187)	⁷¹ (214)	⁶⁶ (139)	⁷⁰ (150)	⁷⁶ (45)
NO	⁴⁷ (158)	⁴⁸ (112)	²² (55)	²⁴ (72)	²¹ (44)	²⁸ (61)	¹⁵ (9)
<u>"In what country were you born?"</u>							
U.S.A.	⁹⁶ (324)	⁸⁸ (204)	⁷² (183)	⁸⁹ (269)	⁸² (173)	⁷⁶ (164)	⁸⁰ (47)
Other	⁴ (12)	¹¹ (26)	²⁸ (72)	⁹ (27)	¹⁷ (36)	²³ (49)	²⁰ (12)
<u>"In what country was your father born?"</u>							
U.S.A.	⁷¹ (242)	⁶² (144)	³⁰ (77)	⁴⁵ (135)	³¹ (66)	³⁸ (81)	²⁴ (14)
Other	²⁵ (86)	³⁷ (85)	⁶⁸ (174)	⁵² (158)	⁶⁶ (139)	⁶¹ (130)	⁷⁵ (44)

TABLE 3--CHAPTER II
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL OF RESPONDENTS

	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
<u>"Education":</u>							
Grade school, some high school	66% (220)	29% (67)	56% (141)	45% (134)	51% (104)	49% (105)	47% (27)
Graduated high school, some college, graduated college	34% (112)	71% (160)	44% (109)	55% (163)	49% (100)	51% (108)	53% (30)
<u>"Occupation of head of household":</u>							
<u>All respondents</u>							
Blue collar	53% (178)	39% (90)	40% (101)	43% (130)	41% (86)	43% (92)	27% (16)
White collar	25% (86)	57% (131)	41% (105)	42% (126)	39% (83)	45% (97)	63% (37)
Other, NA	22% (75)	4% (10)	19% (50)	15% (46)	20% (42)	12% (27)	10% (6)

PARTICIPATION IN LIFE OF CHURCH

	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
Percentage of Respondents							
<u>"How often do you attend the Sunday worship services?"</u>							
At least 3 times a month	48 (162)	68 (157)	50 (127)	57 (172)	51 (108)	59 (127)	73 (43)
At least twice a month	14 (48)	18 (42)	19 (50)	23 (68)	18 (38)	16 (34)	7 (4)
Once a month--once or twice a year	33 (112)	13 (29)	26 (67)	16 (48)	26 (55)	28 (51)	19 (11)
Less than once a year, NA	5 (17)	1 (3)	5 (12)	4 (14)	5 (10)	1 (3)	1 (1)
<u>"How many of the organizations of your congregation do you belong to?"</u>							
None	61 (207)	33 (75)	48 (124)	49 (149)	44 (93)	58 (124)	39 (23)
One or more	38 (130)	66 (153)	50 (127)	49 (149)	55 (116)	40 (87)	61 (36)
<u>"Are you now a member or officer of any of the following?"</u>							
Member of Council or a Committee	4 (15)	18 (41)	20 (50)	11 (33)	14 (29)	16 (35)	34 (20)
Officer, teacher in Sunday School	9 (31)	9 (20)	3 (9)	6 (17)	4 (8)	4 (9)	3 (2)
Choir, Officer of organization	3 (9)	11 (26)	9 (24)	12 (35)	10 (21)	10 (21)	10 (6)
Any one of these	16	38	32	28	28	30	47

CHAPTER III

SEVEN PASTORS AND SEVEN CONGREGATIONS

The pastor provides the key to understanding satisfaction or dissatisfaction among the members of congregations. This was to be expected in Lutheran churches.

The Lutheran confessions emphasize--against the Anabaptists and other "enthusiastic" sects--the God-ordained institution of the public ministry and teach that "God wants no one to preach in the Church unless he is properly called."¹ This teaching has, in the course of time, invested the Lutheran minister with relatively great authority as against other Protestant ministers in America. Also, he is the only full-time professional in the congregation where all the others are volunteers and he is thus "the expert" who is expected "to know best." Nevertheless, in America the pastor is far more dependent on the good will and cooperation of church members, particularly in financial matters, than his European counterpart. Sometimes, his authority is challenged by American laymen. Our seven cases include several examples. The challenge comes from, or through, a body, which is always present in the American Lutheran church and is usually known as the "council."²

¹F. E. Mayer, The Religious Bodies of America, Saint Louis, Mo.: Concordia, 1954, p. 174.

²The organization of the Lutheran church polity is basically congregational, though it may also be viewed as synodical,

It is a body elected--on broadly varying bases--by the whole congregation, and it is to this body that the American Lutheran pastor is beholden in financial and many administrative matters, and to which he comes to have a series of social obligations. Although, in general, only the members of the council know the pastor in his various professional roles, practically everybody in the congregation has an opinion on his performance--an opinion closely related to that on the job the congregation is doing. These matters are more fully discussed by Charles Y. Glock and related to studies of the pastor's role in other denominations.¹

"Satisfied" and "Dissatisfied" Congregations

Through their ratings of the pastor's performance and of the congregation's own performance, the seven churches are clearly divided into two categories: the "satisfied" congregations--St. Peter's, Trinity, and Zion; and the "dissatisfied" congregations--St. Matthew's, St. Mark's, St. John's, and St. Luke's. The close correspondence of the self-rating

since in many instances the separate congregations entrust the synodical organization with considerable authority." (F. E. Mayer, op. cit., p. 178, n. 241.) The amount of discipline which the synods exercise over pastors and congregations varies a good deal. Power which may be vested in the organized association of churches is, above all, the power of approval and veto over the selection of ministers, the defining of beliefs, and the property of local churches. In a congregational polity, these powers rest with the single congregation. As Luther did not consider any particular form of church government as divinely prescribed, Lutheran churches in America had no theological difficulties in this respect.

¹Walter Kloetzli, op. cit., pp. 178-188.

of the congregations and their rating of their ministers also permits an orderly ranking of the seven cases according to these two measures of satisfaction.

	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
Rate Pastor "very successful"	93%	91%	85%	55%	51%	48%	22%
Rate congrega- tion's job "very good"	70%	64%	62%	33%	28%	24%	20%

In the three "satisfied" congregations the consensus on the question about the pastor's job is so close that the few dissenters become almost suspect of being merely factious. (See TABLE 1--CHAPTER III.) But these three ministers are not at all of one type, the leadership they provide is not at all the same, the history of their relationship with the congregations varies from case to case.

Of the four "dissatisfied" congregations, two have a small favorable majority for the pastor, in one the favorable and the unfavorable responses are equal in number, and in one favorable responses form a small minority.¹ Obviously, in the group of "dissatisfied" congregations, the four ministers do not command similar degrees of loyalty. Some face an organized opposition, others do not. Some are rated unfavorably because

¹The response "very successful" is called "favorable"; the responses "fairly successful" or "not too successful" are called "unfavorable." The questionnaire did not offer the choice of "don't know." The proportion of "no answers" varies from 1% to 10%. No answer is counted as an "unfavorable" answer.

they do some particular thing which is not popular, some because they do not do what is expected of them. Their personalities and professional aims are different. Their answers to opposition are different. The length of time that an unsatisfactory situation has existed also varies.

Rating of Pastor and Length of Service
in Seven Congregations

It is to be expected that the length of time a pastor has been with a certain congregation influences the relationship. The pastor's age and length of service in our seven cases is shown below:

	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
Pastor's age	60	41	49	46	35	36	64
Length of service in this congregation	26	8	5	5	4	5	23

The most obvious and the most astonishing thing in the above table is the fact that the two older ministers, who also have served much longer in their congregations than any of the others, are, respectively, the most successful and the most unsuccessful (by the judgment of their congregations) of the seven ministers.

The pastor of "complacent" St. Peter's has been there for 26 years. The data do not tell how many members ever knew his predecessor, and the predecessor's name does not crop up in the interviews. This is not so in St. Luke's, the "divided" congregation, which still cherishes the memory of its founder,

the predecessor of the present pastor and the measure by which he is judged and found wanting--this, even after 23 years of service. The case may, of course, be almost pathological but, again it may not be. We can see, however, from this study that long association does not necessarily breed more and more favorable sentiments--if circumstances make it difficult for the pastor to leave, the sentiments engendered will be strong but the opposite of favorable.¹

A guess, suggested by the above table, is that after perhaps five or a few more years a minister and his congregation make up their minds about each other. If the relationship is unsatisfactory and the pastor is at all enterprising, or if dissatisfaction in the congregation is at all crystallized around some influential persons, then the pastor will leave or will be made to leave, as in St. Matthew's and St. Mark's. But once this early period of the pastor-congregation relationship is passed, if the moment to make a break was not seized, then the two partners are bound together by habit and principles of fairness and decency which can be broken only at a

¹The data do not permit study of the mutual influence of attitude towards the pastor and length of membership per se. In answer to the question, "How long have you been a member of this congregation?" respondents could check: "Less than 1 year," "One to two years," "Three to five years," "Six to ten years," "More than ten years," "Not an official member." As stated in Chapter II, up to 69% of the respondents fall into the "more than ten years" category. Thus, the other categories are generally too small for further analysis, and in the two cases with pastors who have served for a long time, one cannot distinguish between members who have belonged to the congregation for 10, 15, or 20 years, or between those who did and those who did not know the previous pastor.

new turning point. This happened in St. Luke's. Of all four "dissatisfied" congregations, only St. John's (the "uneasy" one) still has the same pastor as of this writing.

The pastor of St. Matthew's was, at the time of the study, 46 years old. He had served four other congregations previously, only one of which was "unsatisfactory and disappointing," according to his interview. In the interview he also said that he had accepted the call to St. Matthew's "because of the challenge of a difficult task." The task was indeed difficult. Apparently, the pastor did not succeed in uniting the congregation under his leadership and directing it towards a common policy.

The situation in St. Mark's was also difficult and it was more dramatic. This was the young (35) pastor's doing, the result of his blind eagerness. St. Mark's was his second job. Among the reasons he gave in his interview for accepting this call was "challenge of a changing community." The change was all for the worse, and it continued to be so. Fifty-seven per cent of our respondents felt that the problems facing their congregation were more difficult than those facing other city congregations. Somewhat more than a year after the survey, the pastor left for a congregation in a less troubled neighborhood. For anybody studying the experiences of ministers, it would be worth while to re-interview this pastor. He had thrown himself wholeheartedly into a great and worthy task, the integration of Negroes into his church, which was situated in a racially mixed neighborhood. But he could convince only a part of his parishioners that this was the right

thing. The others stayed away. Conditions in the neighborhood were no help. As they worsened, all parishioners who could moved out--including the pastor.

A fine contrast is provided by proud, satisfied Trinity. It showed, all through the interviews, the self-study and the survey, pride in having integrated successfully. But this success, written up in newspapers and magazines of various kinds, cost the congregation its much admired pastor. He was called to an administrative position in the national hierarchy of the Lutheran denomination not quite a year after the survey. By that time, he was 42 years old and had served the congregation for nine years.

The examples of Trinity and St. Mark's suggest that, if the pastor tries to introduce a really important change, such as integration, he can either succeed or fail, but nothing in between, and, in both cases, he is likely to leave the congregation.

At the time of the survey, the pastors of Zion and St. John's had both served the critical five years in their respective congregations. By that time, the pastor of Zion had achieved a "very successful" rating by 85% of his parishioners, the pastor of St. John's only by 48%. In addition to his weakness as a preacher, the latter may be just too young, 36 years--none of the three successful ministers is as young as that and the only one who is younger (35 years) is the pastor of "disintegrating" St. Mark's. The unfavorable opinions about the pastor of St. John's have been located among the respondents over 50 years old, and it is quite possible that

for older people such a young pastor does not fit their image of "The Pastor" so that a simple passage of time might better his rating. On the other hand, length of membership makes an even greater difference in the proportions of favorable ratings, and this points to the explanation that those members who knew the previous pastor compare the present one unfavorably with him, especially concerning his sermons. That the glorified memory of the predecessor is a very real threat to a pastor is demonstrated by the extreme case, St. Luke's. If there is a quick succession of pastors, things may become grotesque, as described in the following excerpt from an interview with a councilman of St. Matthew's:

Some of the problems that have plagued our church go back to factions in supporting certain clergymen. First there was the "Brown faction" when Black was pastor. Recently there has been the "Johnson faction" when Carlson has been pastor. This personal loyalty to the pastor who has just left lasts something like five years or more.¹

The pastor of Zion is, in contrast, the man who got the church building repaired, the congregation reorganized and the members--at least in part--active again. There are no golden years under pastor Soandso to look back to longingly.

The time factor certainly deserves full attention in any further studies of the relationship between pastors and congregations.

¹Fictitious names substituted.

The Pastor's Sermons in Three
Satisfied Congregations

A number of factors which may enter into the overall judgment of the pastor appear in the questionnaire. The most important questions and answers are summarized in TABLE 2--
CHAPTER III.

The decisive question about the minister, at least about the Lutheran pastor, is: "How well do you like the sermons your pastor preaches?"¹ Even marginal members can and do have an opinion on this question. Answers are closely related to the answers given to the question, "How would you rate the job that your pastor is doing from an all around point of view?" But the relationship does not always go in one direction: in all three satisfied congregations, more people rate the pastor "very successful from an all around point of view" than "like his sermons very well." The same is true for "dissatisfied" St. John's. The other three "dissatisfied" congregations produce more people who like the pastor's sermons "very well" than people who rate him "very successful" in general. Thus, though sermons are very important, a pastor must be able to do more than preach well to satisfy his parishioners.

On the other hand, a mediocre preacher may overcome his handicap. There are probably various ways to do so, but among

¹ Respondents could check "Very well" or "Fairly well" or "Not very well" or "Don't know." Except in St. John's the "Very well" answers are a large majority so that all other answers will be considered relatively negative. This includes the "Don't know's" and no answers of which there are few, almost all among respondents who rate the pastor unfavorably on the general question.

	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
Rate Pastor "Very successful"	93%	91%	85%	55%	51%	48%	22%
Like his sermons "Very well"	83%	75%	78%	77%	59%	43%	68%

our three "satisfied" congregations we have only one example. This is the "proud" congregation, Trinity, where there is the largest difference between the "very successful" rate and the "like sermons very well" rate: 16 percentage points. (See TABLE 2--CHAPTER III) Some of this relatively low judgment of the pastor's sermons may result from his lack of talent as a preacher. Even the pastor himself seems to be aware of his weakness. Answering the interview question, "How effective do you think your sermons are?" he states, "Sermons aren't as effective as they should be. Need to spend more time in preparation." This, however, is all on the subject; no further questions were asked or answered about what might constitute an "effective" sermon. As to the content of the sermons, the pastor is, again, inarticulate. Question: "What are the principal things you try to communicate in your sermons?" Answer: "Communicate a doctrinal summary, but not as a cold outline . . . rather as God's outline. . . . Try to relate them generally to a people in an urbanized setting. . . . Occasionally I preach on immediate social problems in a general way . . . such as this Mother's Day I am planning a sermon on Christian family life. But I will not be preaching on the decline and fall of McCarthy." From the way the pastor

becomes eloquent when talking about his work in the community, the block organizations and similar subjects, one would, however, conclude that his sermons deal with such "immediate social problems" in a not too "general" way.

For the pastor, the "sermon is very important, but not most important [in the worship service] which is an altar-centered worship service." For the five members of his congregation who were interviewed, it is "most important" or "very important" without qualification. The great importance which church members attach to the sermon--practically all men and women interviewed agree with those of Trinity--accounts for the close association between the general rating of the pastor's job and the rating of his sermons. Of those who rate Trinity's pastor "very successful," 80% (168 respondents) like his sermons "very well"; of those who do not rate him "very successful," only 25% (5 respondents) like his sermons "very well." Dissatisfaction with the way the pastor conducts his job and dissatisfaction with the way he preaches probably both stem from the same objection to the pastor's conduct, an objection to his integration policies.

In some ways the relationships between the various ratings of their pastors are similar in the three "satisfied" congregations. In all three a higher proportion of respondents rate the pastor "very successful" in general and a somewhat lower proportion "likes his sermons very well." Also, in all three, those who rate him "very successful" and those who do not divide sharply over the judgment of his sermons; they do not disagree as widely on anything else. Both of

these differences, however, come out most sharply in proud Trinity.

It appears that the relative popularity of the sermons of the pastors of St. Peter's and Zion is related to the education of the respondents:

	St. Peter's Education ¹		Zion Education	
	Low	High	Low	High
Like pastor's sermons "Very well"	87%	74%	86%	67%
Difference		19		13

In St. Peter's and Zion there is almost no difference in general rating of the pastor between the more and the less educated. (See TABLE 4--CHAPTER III.) It seems, therefore, that the sermons are a cause of dissatisfaction among the more educated parishioners. In Zion, 89% of the grade school respondents like the pastor's sermons "very well," and the percentage goes steadily down to 64% for those with a college education. A more critical attitude toward the sermons is also found among the better educated respondents in all four "dissatisfied" congregations. There is, however, one exception among the seven cases: in Trinity the more educated respondents rate the pastor, as well as his sermons, somewhat higher than the less educated people. This is due to the fact, noted before, that the Negro respondents in this congregation are better educated than the white respondents.

¹"Low" education is grade school, some high school; "high" education is: graduated from high school, some college, graduated from college.

In St. Peter's as well as in Zion the majority of respondents belongs to the less educated category, that is, 66% in St. Peter's and 56% in Zion. Under the circumstances, it is easy to see why the pastors do not try to win over the few critical, better educated parishioners by an improvement in the intellectual quality of their sermons.

In any case, the pastor of St. Peter's achieves the highest rate of approval (83%) of his sermons among the seven ministers. It is not surprising that he himself judges the sermon to be very important, more so than the pastor of Trinity, who is somewhat less successful as a preacher. Answering the question, "How important is the sermon in the worship service in your opinion?" the pastor of St. Peter's stresses, as he does in various other matters, the traditional Lutheran position:

Well, the means of Grace in the Lutheran Church are the Word and the Sacraments. Preaching is setting forth the Word of God, the proclaiming of the Gospel and it would thereby take a very important place in the service. Even in Holy Communion and in Baptism the Word is the central meaning of the Sacraments and so anything that would deal with explaining or expounding of the Word would in the Lutheran Church be given a very important place.

In this answer, the interesting point is that the pastor does not mention the liturgy as being less, more, or equally as important as the sermon although the liturgy was the topic of the preceding questions and most other ministers do judge the importance of the sermon in relation to that of the liturgy. The pastor of St. Peter's states that his church is "not a high Lutheran Church, the term 'high' used as in the Episcopal Church." At the age of sixty, he seems not to

participate in the trend towards increased emphasis on the liturgy practiced by some of the younger ministers.

To the question, "In the total education program of the church, what, if anything, do you think is more important than the sermon?" the pastor of St. Peter's answers:

. . . the sermon would be the most important and I think that is the way it ought to be because the minister is the one in the whole church who has been theologically trained. The sermon gives guidance. . . . The minister is the interpreter--he interprets Lutheran doctrine.

But he is not dogmatic in his preaching. He says:

I like to come back to 'how' after telling them 'what' [to do]. . . . I would say the sermon meets a definite need in the lives of the people when you are able to take a situation in which a person would find himself and that you might be able to apply God's Word in the meeting of that situation. . . .

The only way to determine the real worth of sermonizing is the daily lives of the people, that they are devoted in the home, honest in business. . . .

He says he does not know how this effect of "sermonizing" could be measured. It would be difficult indeed. But at least his sermons are very well liked; which is one way for communications to take effect.

The pastor of Zion runs second in the popularity of his sermons: 78% of the respondents saying they like his sermons "very well." His own position on the importance of the sermon is ambivalent: he would like to put other things first, but he knows that his parishioners do not. He says:

My opinion is colored by the Lutheran position and the increased interest of late over the liturgy. But I know that the sermon has an important place in leading the people and interpreting to them the Truth. . . . The sermon should prepare them for the moments of confrontation with God [in the rest of the service].

Answering the question on the importance of the sermon in "the total education program of the church," he says that "committee meetings, Bible study, organizations" are more important than the sermon:

I put this really first. It is a studying, discussing, and putting that into work and activity. Something of the response I was talking about.

Thus the pastor of Zion is the one example of a minister whose sermons are well liked although he does not place primary importance on them.

The pastor of Zion also differs from the paternal pastor of St. Peter's in that he does not "tell them 'how' after telling them 'what'"; he calls his method "indirection":

What I mean is that they be led to the point of making their own decision. I do not outline the type of decision that I seek, but rather hope that they will make their own, by themselves.

But he addresses himself to groups with definite problems: "the children, the needy, those struggling with doubt, those in search of Christian faith." And he notes that there is "a definite vocal response when I have 'hit home' . . . when I hit the need of a person." Perhaps this pastor's very real concern for individual people--expressed also in his concern for counseling--offsets whatever detrimental effects his high consideration for the liturgy might otherwise have on his preaching.

The Pastor and the Community in the Three Satisfied Congregations

The qualities which--in addition to quality as a preacher--contribute to the "very successful" rating of the pastors

of St. Peter's and Zion are not the same as they are for the pastor of Trinity. Also, while the two former are criticized less often for their preaching, they are criticized more often for other reasons.

In Trinity there is some division of opinion over the pastor's sermons but there is practical unanimity in acknowledging the leadership he displayed in the matter of integration, his strength under pressure in carrying the change through, and his skill in developing a sense of unity of purpose in his "proud" congregation--although for some respondents this is an acknowledgement of fact rather than of agreement with the pastor's policies.

If they wanted to "suggest changes in the program of the congregation," 61% of those who rate the pastor favorably and 65% of those who rate him unfavorably would go to the pastor and not to the church officers or others. Eighty-five per cent of each group say the pastor is "active in community affairs" and this unanimity is the more remarkable because practically the same proportions (87% and 85%) also think the pastor "should be active in community affairs." In no other congregation does the pastor thus live up to the expectations of those who, in general, rate him unfavorably. (See TABLE 2--CHAPTER III.)

In St. Peter's and Zion those respondents who rate the pastor's job favorably and those who rate it unfavorably do not agree at all on how active the pastor is in community affairs: only those who think well of him in general seem to

think that their pastor is as active in community affairs as he should be. Both groups, however, agree on whether or not he should be active in community affairs.

	<u>St. Peter's</u>		<u>Zion</u>	
	Rate Pastor:			
	"Very successful" (N = 316)	Not "very successful" (N = 23)	"Very successful" (N = 218)	Not "very successful" (N = 38)
Say "Yes" to: "Should the pastor be active in com- munity affairs?"	75%	74%	62%	68%
Say "Yes" to: "Is the pastor active in community affairs?"	68%	30%	49%	16%

(See also TABLE 2--CHAPTER III)

Thus there is a difference of 44 percentage points in St. Peter's and of 52 percentage points in Zion between the rates of what "should be" and what "is" according to the respondents who are critical of the pastor. They think that the pastor is not active enough. But it is not possible to tell what they think he should do--whether he should strengthen the ties between the church and the people in the neighborhood, including those moving in now, or help to ward off the deterioration of the region and preserve its character. There are indications (to be taken up later) that the latter is at least more often true than the former.

As far as one can judge from the interviews with the two pastors, their approach to community activities is really very similar: both are willing to cooperate with community organizations, but within the framework of the church. On the other

hand, only the pastor of Trinity went out and helped to create new, interdenominational community organizations for the betterment of the neighborhood.

The Pastor and the Church's Internal Affairs
in the Three Satisfied Congregations

We found indications that dissatisfaction with the pastor of Trinity or with his sermons is in part related to his pro-integration attitudes.

Of course, most of the members opposed to racial integration left Trinity five years ago, but a few remained. Among the respondents there are 9%, or 21 people, who say "No," the congregation should not accept as members persons of all races and four respondents who do not answer the question. The minority which rates the pastor unfavorably is composed of five Negroes and fifteen Whites. (The Negro-White ratio in the whole sample is 49% to 51%.) This minority has a low rate of church attendance: only 40% of them go to church at least three times a month as against 71% of the majority. (See TABLE 3--CHAPTER III.) Since 75% of the minority dissatisfied with the pastor do not like his sermons "very well," their relatively low rate of church attendance is understandable.

The pastor of Zion is much concerned about the age composition of his congregation since 55% of the members are over fifty years old. He is doing quite a lot to recruit children for the youth program of the church and to bring up a new generation of members but he complains about the lack

of understanding and help from his parishioners in this matter. Financially, the congregation is leaning too heavily on the contributions of older members. Discontent is largely concentrated among the younger members. (See TABLE 4--CHAPTER III.) And the small group of 38 respondents with an unfavorable attitude toward the pastor is marked by a generally reduced participation. Respondents in this group go to church far less, pay less attention during the service, belong to fewer church organizations and hold fewer leadership positions. They also feel less often that they have a voice in shaping the policy and program of the congregation. (See TABLE 3--CHAPTER III.) They seem to be people who do not quite "belong." Whether their relative isolation stems from the fact that they do not share the general positive attitude toward the pastor, or whether, on the contrary, they think less of the pastor because they feel left out, cannot be determined, but the latter assumption seems more likely. The younger members and those who have joined more recently may have difficulty in finding their niche in so old and satisfied a congregation as Zion.

In St. Peter's, the smallness of the minority (23 respondents) which rates the pastor unfavorably points to another source of discontent in the congregation. The dissatisfied minority does not participate the less. But their unfavorable attitude toward the pastor shows in the fact that 78% of them do not pay very close attention during the Sunday service, as against 49% of the majority. Their objections to the pastor become clearly evident, moreover, in the answers

to three questions designed to probe how far the climate in the congregation is "democratic" or "authoritarian." The reaction to these three questions of those who are critical of the pastor shows their feeling that they do not have much to say in the affairs of the congregation. Less often than the majority do they feel that "they have a voice in shaping the policy and program of the congregation"; and less often do they say "that decisions about how the congregation should be run are arrived at democratically" (see TABLE 3--CHAPTER III). As can be seen in the interviews, this feeling of not having much to say in the congregation, if it is not accepted as natural but becomes a complaint, is directed against the benevolent authoritarianism of St. Peter's pastor. Thus it is different from a similar feeling in Zion, where it is directed against the old, long established, contented members of the congregation. In both cases, however, the unrest of younger, better educated respondents, who have not been members of the congregation for very long, is not associated with any important issue. In both cases, the prevailing atmosphere is one of great satisfaction.¹

¹There are, it is true, differences in degree of satisfaction with the pastor between St. Peter's and Zion. For these differences, there are two possible explanations. The first explanation is based on the hypothesis that favorable sentiments develop through long association and that therefore the higher ratings the pastor of St. Peter's gets from his congregation are a function of his 26 years of service as against the five years of the pastor of Zion. Another explanation, which does not necessarily conflict with the first one, subsists in the finding that the emotional climate in the two churches is different, the intensity of involvement being quite low in St. Peter's and quite high in Zion, as witnessed in the first place by the response rates to the

Next to the sermon, the personal contacts parishioners have with their pastor count for a great deal--it cannot be determined how much, relative to other things, from the data at hand. But the interviews and the questionnaires give some indications. Many ministers (not only in this study) complain about the demands made upon their time by church members who feel the pastor should come to visit at their homes as in the good old days before there were community activities and big programs and all sorts of conferences and forms to fill out and big budgets to administer. It may be that these ministers feel unduly harassed by some vocal old ladies who do not represent general opinion in the congregation. In the survey, people could express such complaints in a series of questions asking whether the minister spends "too much, too little time or about the right amount of time" on various activities.¹ Most respondents did not presume to judge in these matters. There are many "don't know" and no answers to this series of questions which hold down the proportions of approvals. One may assume that these "don't know's" are genuine expressions of lack of knowledge. Lack of knowledge, however, indicates lack of interest and the likelihood that the respondent has

survey. The high rate in Zion must include those who are critical as well as others. Since we lack objective, reliable measures of how much or how little individual pastors and congregations are doing, the ratings given by the respondents can be used only as indications of how fact is perceived, not as measures of fact.

¹The seven activities listed are: "Preparing sermons," "Visiting members," "Visiting non-members," "Attending church meetings," "Office work," "Work for the church at large," "Giving people advice."

not come to feel any consequences of these activities of the pastor. Only a very few respondents check "Too much time" on any of the seven activities listed in the questions. If there is criticism, it is that the pastor spends "too little time." Such criticism is considerable in the "dissatisfied" congregations. There are practically no complaints in St. Peter's and Zion. There are some complaints in Trinity: 14% of the respondents say the pastor spends "too little time" visiting members. At the same time the unusually high proportion of 52% acknowledges that he spends "about the right amount of time" in "attending church meetings" and thus looks after the work the numerous church organizations do.

The list of the pastor's activities has an eighth item, "his own recreation." Almost nobody thinks any of the seven pastors is giving too much time to that and, even in the "dissatisfied" congregations and among those who rate the pastor unfavorably, more respondents think he is spending "too little" than "about the right amount of time" on his own recreation. Thus it seems that all pastors work too hard in general, though not always enough on particular jobs. One may also suggest that the quality of the personal contacts has something to do with the judgments of the respondents. If the pastor can make his parishioners feel that he cares about them personally--as the pastors of St. Peter's and Zion seem able to do--this may be enough to keep people satisfied.

The Four "Dissatisfied" Congregations

Of the four "dissatisfied" congregations only one is a true counterpart to the "satisfied" congregations, the divided church of St. Luke's. The others hold a middle position with regard to the ratings of their pastors. (See TABLE 1--CHAPTER III.)

Since this survey was done, the pastor of St. Luke's has had to leave his church after 23 years of service and the pastors of St. Matthew's and St. Mark's have left their congregations after about five years with them. The survey data give at least a partial explanation of these events.

Although in each of these four churches considerable numbers of people do not think very highly of the pastor, the opposition is of different kinds: it is organized in St. Luke's and St. Matthew's and unorganized and passive in St. Mark's and St. John's.

The Pastor of St. Matthew's

The Sermons.--The pastor of St. Matthew's is the most successful of the unsuccessful ministers. In fact, a majority of his parishioners, 54%, rate him "very successful from an all around point of view."¹ His strong point is preaching.

¹The ambiguity of the words "successful from an all around point of view" is evident. We cannot accurately judge what any one respondent means by "successful" if we do not know what he considers to be the aims of the pastor or what he thinks these aims ought to be. General and ambiguous as the question is, it can only be understood as a popularity rating. That many, though not all, respondents answered it that way seems clear from the strong connection between this question

Although he has considerable difficulties with his congregation over policy and program, his sermons are very well liked. Among our seven ministers he gets the third highest proportion of acclaim, being rated after the pastors of St. Peter's and Zion, two "satisfied" congregations, and above the pastor of Trinity, the third "satisfied" congregation. More respondents (77%) like the pastor's sermons "very well" than rate him "very successful" (55%). He does not, however, make an exception to the rule that like or dislike of the sermons most clearly divides those who rate the pastor favorably from those who do not: in St. Matthew's 88% of those favorably disposed towards the pastor like his sermons "very well" and 65% of those unfavorably disposed do. But this difference of 23 percentage points is the smallest such difference in the seven cases.

In the interviews too, one can find great praise for the pastor's sermons. For example:

I believe that the preaching effectiveness is the key to the church's present effectiveness compared to other churches. . . . The pastor is a good preacher and many come to hear him in the pulpit. . . . There is a message that goes home to you, that you take home with you. When you listen you see the application to yourself.

Since the pastor's sermons are so well received, one will almost expect to hear that he says in his interview:

Nothing else is as important as the sermon. . . . The sermon is primary [in the worship service]. I attempt to emphasize preaching of Biblical sermons to familiarize members with Scriptures. Expository sermons are used to interpret and apply to present-day living. A preaching ministry is emphasized.

and the one on liking or not liking the sermons. Presumably, more objective judgments of the pastor's success occur in those congregations where his aim is clear and well-known, as in St. Mark's, for example.

The pastor sees the effect of his sermons in a growing church and communion attendance. At another point in the interview, however, he remarks that the "general concern of the laity for the local neighborhood is slight and gives little evidence of increasing" and that he sees this "as a rather hopeless task." The stated objective of his sermons is to get "people to accept Christ as Saviour; then they will have concern for putting God's word into effect, i.e., develop a responsible program for the immediate neighborhood"; his well liked sermons must, therefore, be considered ineffective from his point of view.

Community Activities.--The survey questions concerning the pastor's community activities reveal, above all, the lack of interest and knowledge among the respondents. Most do not know whether the pastor is "well known in the neighborhood of the church" or not, and the rest are more often inclined to say "not well known," which probably corresponds to the fact, for the pastor does not live near the church. When he took over, a new parsonage was purchased "in a more desirable area" three miles away. As to the questions whether the pastor should be and is active in community affairs, expectation is low compared with other congregations and judgment on the pastor's activity is largely withheld. (Fifty-seven per cent of the respondents check "Don't know.")

The pastor's difficulties and the dissatisfaction in the congregation stem from his insistence on involving the church in its neighborhood, a badly deteriorated neighborhood, and his demand for financial sacrifices by the members to

achieve this involvement.

St. Matthew's

Rate Pastor:

"Very successful"	Not "very successful"
(N = 166)	(N = 136)

"Do you think your minister should be active in community affairs?"

YES	71%	63%
-----	-----	-----

"Is your minister active in community affairs?"

YES	40%	18%
-----	-----	-----

(See also TABLE 2--CHAPTER III.)

Internal Difficulties.--The pastor of St. Matthew's has his opponents mostly among the members of the congregation who were there before him and liked the previous pastor or the one before that better. Younger and older parishioners agree rather closely on how to evaluate him, but a big difference lies between short-term and long-term members. (See TABLE 4--CHAPTER III.) We know from the interviews how in this church each successive pastor left behind him a faction opposed to the next pastor because he was not like the former pastor. It seems that among the newer members the pastor of our study was finding his own followers, but in this church 71% of the respondents were members for more than five years and the pastor did not stay long enough to see the newer members outweigh them. These long-term members are by no means staying away because the pastor is not quite as they would like him. On the contrary, they more often attend Sunday services "at least 3 times a month" than those who rate the pastor "very successful" (62% vs. 53%), and they more often belong to one or more church

organizations (56% vs. 44%). They express their dissatisfaction, however, by paying "close attention" during the service less often (43% vs. 60%). (See TABLE 3--CHAPTER III.)

Still more important for the relationship between pastor and congregation is that, among those who hold responsible positions in St. Matthew's and with whom the pastor has to work, a higher proportion is disposed unfavorably toward him than favorably. Among those who do not hold any position, more are satisfied with the pastor than are dissatisfied; they, presumably, know him mainly as a good preacher.

	<u>St. Matthew's</u>	
	Respondents holding a position	Respondents not holding a position
Rate pastor "very successful"	48% (41)	58% (125)
Rate pastor not "very successful"	52% (44)	42% (92)
	<hr/> 100% (85)	<hr/> 100% (217)

This situation has a curious reflection in the pastor's interview. He says that the Church Council is representative of church membership, but that there is "lack of lay leadership, dependence on pastor for direction. Leadership shortage makes Boards somewhat unproductive." On the question, "Do you exercise a controlling voice in the deliberations of the council?" the pastor answers that he does "not control, but directs by suggestion and thus gives leadership. This role is necessary because Boards can't think for themselves." Obviously, not very many can think for themselves in the direction the pastor is thinking, which is increasing involvement

in the neighborhood of the church. The pastor allows that the fact that all the board members live outside the neighborhood of the church "may affect concern for the church neighborhood with sense of less responsibility." Like other pastors in deteriorating neighborhoods, he deplores the loss of leadership "that has moved out of the church"--moved, that is, to the suburbs and left the church. But more seems to be involved than just lack of strong lay leaders; there is definite opposition to the pastor's plans for the congregation. The pastor admits this in the following words:

Opinions vary on the Boards. Pastoral suggestions will be followed but if too strong pastoral leadership is asserted, the Boards will rebel. Never personalized, but based on principle.

As examples of instances where this occurred, the pastor names "financial expenditures" and says that the laymen feel he is being excessive in some financial plans and that there is "disagreement on new programming--the Boards tend to be more conservative on new ideas than the pastor."

On their side, the church members interviewed all mention financial problems of the church, some of them with great insistence. A woman has, for example, this to say:

Pledges were raised to try to meet the higher budget. First, the budget was set too high, then people felt they had to raise their pledges and then they could not pay up.

And there are difficulties about additional staff members whom the pastor wants for his program and who, of course, also cost money. As a deacon puts it in his interview:

There was quite a difference of opinion among the trustees as regards enlarging the staff. At one time when the

pastor wished to procure staff for visitation work the trustees did not support this and it caused a great deal of ill feeling.

Thus we have here a reform-minded pastor versus a conservative congregation. Something similar is found in St. John's and St. Mark's. But the overall situation is much easier in St. John's, while in St. Mark's problems are more urgent because many members still live in the neighborhood of the church and this neighborhood is still deteriorating. The members of St. Matthew's, however, do not, for the most part, live anywhere near the church; they have not, for a long time, had anything to do with the neighborhood and just do not want to think about it.

What seems to be lacking on the pastor's part is the authority to convince and carry with him the "oligarchy" which determines the policies of the congregation. A deacon interviewed reports that in council meetings the pastor of St. Matthew's usually says: "I want to hear what you say first" and then will offer his ideas later. Nevertheless, St. Matthew's has the second lowest proportion, 47%, (after St. Mark's) of respondents who say that "decisions about how the congregation should be run are arrived at democratically." It is probably in the matter of finance and pledges that respondents feel overruled and pushed. Those who are dissatisfied with the pastor also tend to say that it was he who had the most to do with deciding the program of the congregation --and thus is to blame for it--not the members.

St. Matthew's

Rate Pastor:

"Very successful"	Not "very successful"
(N = 166)	(N = 136)

"Over the last 5 years,
who has had the most to
do with deciding the
program of the con-
gregation?"

The Pastor	24%	38%
The Members	22%	18%

The suspicion among members that the pastor of St. Matthew's is not "democratic" may be strengthened by the fact that he is "more reserved" than his predecessor. He is said not to shake hands enough. He gets a very poor rating for spending "the right amount of time" on "visiting members" and "visiting non-members." Certainly, the fact that the members live dispersed over a wide area makes visiting impractical. To overcome this difficulty, the pastor has persuaded the congregation to call in a retired minister as part-time visitation pastor. But, as one of the members interviewed says:

There is a rumor around that the pastor does not get to visit all the sick persons. Some want to see the main pastor, not the visitation pastor.

Some months after the survey the pastor of St. Matthew's gave up the struggle with his congregation. Whatever the attractions of his new job, St. Matthew's certainly was not very difficult to leave.

The Pastor of St. Mark's

Problems in Integration.--St. Mark's considers itself the most problem-laden. Fifty-eight per cent of the respondents say that "the problems facing their congregation are

more difficult than the problems facing other city congregations." The next troubled church, proud, satisfied Trinity, situated in the same city and burdened with the same main problems, the integration of Negroes, has only 45% respondents who think their problems are more difficult than those of others.

At the time of the study and for some time later, the pastor of St. Mark's did not share this gloom. He expressed confidence that the problems would be dealt with; he was a young man with a mission. Since then he has left his church for another one which does not have an integration problem, whatever other problems it may have. In the task he had undertaken, he did not have his congregation behind him--that is evidence from the survey. The key question here was answered as follows:

	<u>St. Mark's</u>		
	Rate Pastor:		
<u>"Do you think that your congregation should accept into membership persons of all races?"</u>	All respondents (N = 211)	"Very successful" (N = 107)	Not "very successful" (N = 104)
YES	57%	63%	52%
NO	40%	35%	44%
Don't know	3%	2%	4%

Some months before the survey brought these results, the pastor described the situation of St. Mark's and its neighborhood in an ecclesiastical magazine and stated:

Though there was some opposition at first to the idea of integrating the membership of . . . Lutheran Church, this opposition does not exist today. In the period

of two years, since the first Negro was received, integration has become a dead issue in our parish.

Such wishful thinking or mistaken judgment on the part of the pastor would hardly have been possible if the anti-integration forces had been organized. This was apparently not the case. It may also be that people who feel unhappy about the racial integration of the church do not speak up because they have no arguments to hold against the pastor's arguments and feel unsure of themselves, even guilty. One such case--which, of course, cannot be generalized--is among the five interviews from St. Mark's. It is of a middle-aged woman who was already a member of St. Mark's when it was still completely Swedish. She names as an urgent problem "the social life in our integrated church, especially among our youth," and then, according to the interviewer, "goes into detail about her fear which she knows is wrong but has nevertheless about marriage between the races." She reminds herself that in her own youth Swedish parents were upset by the prospect of their children marrying other than Swedish youths, but still is disturbed.

At the time of the study, integration had been going on for about two years. Twenty-three adult Negro members (according to the pastor), or perhaps more, had joined the congregation. Only eight answered the questionnaire, however--too few to compare with the white members. This does not necessarily point to any special unwillingness to respond on the part of the Negro members--they are, in this congregation, mostly of low socio-economic status and therefore likely to have a low

return rate. (The overall return rate in St. Mark's is low, too.) Since the survey was made, the number of Negro members has greatly increased. A year later there were 70 adults, according to the pastor.

The respondents of St. Mark's are almost evenly divided (50% to 50%) between those who rate the pastor "very successful" and those who do not. But the 35% (37 respondents) of those who rate him favorably, yet at the same time think that the congregation should not accept members of all races (see TABLE above), seem not to express approval of his successful activities, but merely the opinion that he is doing successfully what he wants to do.

Also, dissatisfied respondents agree with the satisfied ones that the minister should be active in community affairs, and a majority grants that he is. These answers do not necessarily constitute approval. The same is true of the expressed

St. Mark's

Rate Pastor:

"Very successful" (N = 107) Not "very successful" (N = 104)

"Do you think your minister should be active in community affairs?"

YES

86%

85%

"Is your minister active in community affairs?"

YES

78%

65%

(See also TABLE 2--CHAPTER III.)

opinion (65% of the satisfied and 61% of the dissatisfied respondents) that it is "by the personal effort of the pastor" that most of the new members are brought into the church.

Those unfavorably disposed towards the pastor do not deny that he is active. But what would they have said if they had been asked whether or not they want these new members in the congregation? And what do they mean by "community affairs"?

The Sermons.--Compared to his colleagues, the pastor of St. Mark's does not do very well with his sermons, but a higher proportion of respondents like his sermons "very well" than think him "very successful" (59% vs. 51% of all respondents) so that his sermons may be considered relatively impressive under difficult circumstances. The pastor of St. Mark's holds the sermon to be rather important. In his interview he states:

The pastor exercises his most affirmative, positive, and most fruitful leadership . . . through the preaching of the Word and, therefore, nothing in the life of an average congregation can be more important than good preaching.

.
That which makes an effective sermon is his honesty and conviction--the man who stands in the pulpit and says, "Thus said the Lord," and then whose response, indicated by his own personal actions, is, "This I believe."

.
My sermons are more problem centered now than when I first came some years ago. They are more specific, more relevant, more contemporary and at the same time, therefore, more redemptive in the sense that they are calculated to meet specific situations in the community and life of the people of the church.

As usual, the people interviewed stress the importance that the sermon has for them--it is the most important part of the service. Two people mention that the pastor is not repetitious, that he touches on a variety of subjects, relates Biblical texts to modern experience. There is no criticism of the sermons in the interviews, but neither is there enthusiasm. The pastor of St. Mark's seems, however, to have annoyed some church members shortly after he arrived and

started to change the church service. He seems to be one of those young pastors who have acquired a taste for a more "high church" style of service. One of the trustees interviewed says that "making use of acolytes (altar boys), etc.," was said to be "too close to being Catholic." But such objections seem to have been overcome, for the trustee continues: "As far as the form of service is concerned, we will not remove any part of it; we are following the suggested rules of the Augustana Church and of the Lutheran Church of ages past, really getting back to the accepted practices."

Internal Tensions.--The reasons why resistance to the form of service as well as to racial integration has been overcome are twofold. First, the pastor "fights for the things he feels are right," as a woman interviewed puts it. Second, the opposition to the pastor is scattered and unorganized. Respondents who are dissatisfied with the pastor hold their share of positions in the church but, apparently, do not speak up any more. Attitudes towards the pastor have no influence on the rates of church going. There is, however, a considerable difference in attention: 63% of the favorably disposed half pay "close attention during the service," while only 36% of the other half do. The dissatisfied respondents, furthermore, participate far less in the organizations of St. Mark's than the satisfied respondents do. Membership in organizations goes down from a high of 74% (or 35 respondents) among those satisfied with the congregation as well as with the pastor to a low of 44% (or 39 respondents) among those doubly dissatisfied.

That the opposition to the pastor of St. Mark's feels itself overruled shows in the record 43% of the dissatisfied respondents who claim that they have no voice in shaping the policy and program of the congregation. (Forty-five per cent of those satisfied with the pastor and 19% of those dissatisfied say that they have a voice.) Another negative record of St. Mark's is the low proportion of respondents who answer "Yes," the decisions about how the congregation should be run are arrived at democratically. Only 49% of those satisfied with the pastor and 37% of those dissatisfied say so--a rather grave situation in an American institution. Yet another record among the seven cases occurs in the matter of the question, "Over the last five years, who has had the most to do with deciding the program of your congregation?" Here, 54% of all respondents say: "The pastor." Significantly those unfavorably disposed towards him more often say it was he who made the decisions than those favorably disposed (57% vs. 42%).

The lack of understanding between the pastor of St. Mark's and his congregation is further evidenced by the very small proportions of respondents who express any opinions at all on whether he spends "too much, too little, or about the right amount of time" on various duties. They just do not know what he does. The only point on which criticism of some magnitude is voiced is "visiting members" of which the pastor does "too little," according to 27% of those who rate him unfavorably and 7% of those who rate him favorably--and only 24% of the latter say he spends "about the right amount of time" visiting members.

In all of this one can see another reason for dissatisfaction with the pastor of St. Mark's--his authoritarian manner, his blindness or deafness to the wishes of the parishioners, a young man's unconcern for those who do not see the light as he sees it. Obviously, some of the dissatisfied respondents have other objections to the pastor besides the changes he has forced upon St. Mark's, for 28% (29 respondents) of them say they "approve of the changes which have been made," just as many as say they do not approve. (The rest do not know what to say.)

The pastor, at the time of the study 35 years old, comes from a small Swedish town in Minnesota. He had, however, studied at a big university, was working on a Ph.D. thesis and said that "the kind of assignment he would eventually like to have" was "teaching in a church college or seminary." His defeat in the slums of the big city has been lived and described so often before as to seem almost trite.

The Pastor of St. John's

The Problem of Inertia.--In small, quiet St. John's, 48% of the respondents rate the job that their pastor is doing "very successful." The pastor thus compares badly with all the other pastors except the pastor of St. Luke's. But his situation may improve in time. His support comes mainly from the younger people and the short-term members in the congregation who did not know the previous pastor. His opposition comes mainly from the older long-term members, of which latter only 25% rate him "very successful." As he is young (36 at

the time of the survey) and as his congregation is young (66% of our respondents are under fifty), he stands to gain in popularity.

This prediction is strengthened when it is found that the people who do not rate the pastor of St. John's highly--52%--are those who participate but little in the life of the church. Only 46% of them go to church at least 3 times a month as against 74% of the others, and when they go they pay very little attention. They belong somewhat less often to organizations of the church, they hold fewer leading positions and they also feel less often that "they have a voice in shaping the policy and program of the congregation." (See TABLE 3--CHAPTER III.)

On the question whether the decisions about how the congregation should be run are arrived at democratically, these people are also dubious: only 5% give a clear "no" answer, but 40%, double as many as in the group favorably disposed toward the pastor, "couldn't say." If they had to suggest changes, they also would more often not know where to turn, and when asked, "Has your congregation made any changes within the last year with respect to any of the following activities?" (follow six choices and "none of these"), 45% of them "don't know," as against 31% among the others. And so on: those who do not rate the pastor "very successful" show a higher proportion of "don't know's" on almost all the relevant questions.¹

¹Part of this is certainly due to the fact that in setting up the category of "respondents who do not rate the

Thus we may conclude that an unfavorable disposition toward the pastor is expressed in St. John's mainly by inertia, lack of participation and lack of interest. In his interview the pastor of St. John's describes his problem-parishioners thus:

There is the Women's group which is as old as the congregation and which grew up along national lines; primarily German, and it doesn't tolerate any changes. The group is fairly strong (16 members). . . . I have had difficulty with it because I have been trying to coordinate its activities with the mission of the church. Up to now it has been a sort of clique by itself. In theory the group is open to anyone who comes but it is not so in practice. In the five years I have been here I have not known just what to do with it. The group as a whole opposes this religious "stuff" as one of them has said, and doesn't want it. . . . I would like to get them to think through the purpose and nature of the church and of their part in the church as a group.

These ladies, singled out by the pastor as one of his problems, seem to be fairly typical of those who do not rate him "very successful." All the latter may, like these ladies, "not tolerate any changes," but they do not accuse the pastor of having introduced any changes within the last year, and those among them who think any changes have been made in the program of the congregation approve.

Other points on which he gets good ratings from those who are favorably disposed in general are that he spends "about the right amount of time" on visiting members, on giving advice

pastor 'very successful'" those who did not rate the pastor at all were included and some of them are "chronic don't know's." This cannot, however, be the whole explanation, first because really "chronic don't know's" were excluded from the sample (see Statement on Methods) and second, because the difference in proportions of "don't know's" between the groups favorable and not favorable to the pastor surpasses the possible proportion of people who might be "chronic don't know's" in matters regarding the pastor specifically.

and on attending church meetings. It seems that the special effort he makes (according to his interview) to visit all the members who are sick several times is not in vain. This effort, however, does not redeem him in the eyes of those who do not judge him favorably in general: 51% of the first group as against 21% of the second group say he spends about the right amount of time visiting members. Still, this is a good record on this point as far as our seven ministers go. The only important criticism of the pastor expressed in the survey concerns his sermons.

The Sermons.--The pastor of St. John's gets the lowest overall rating (43%) of his sermons among the seven ministers and also the lowest rating given any of them by those who, in general, rate the pastors "very successful." Only 61% of the group who think that, from an all around point of view, the pastor is "very successful" like his sermons "very well" and not more than 26% of this group pay close attention during the service--another negative record. Of those who do not rate him favorably in the first place, only 27% like his sermons "very well" and 18% say that they pay close attention during the service.

It does not seem to be a matter of hard work--only 5 respondents (about 2%) say the pastor spends "too little time" on "preparing sermons"; it is rather a difference in expectation or taste, combined, perhaps, with inexperience and lack of talent on the pastor's side. In his interview he states, in answer to the question: "How important is the sermon in the worship service in your opinion?" the following:

Well, technically speaking, I would say the sermon is not important, I mean it is not essential in the liturgical pattern that we have. Practically speaking, of course, it is extremely important but I believe that you can have worship without it.

And in answer to the question: "In the total education program of the church, what, if anything, do you think is more important than the sermon?" he says:

Well, I put at least three things before the sermon. First of all, I think the church service itself, the worship of the congregation means more. Secondly, I think the Pastor's class itself means more to the prospects than any sermon I've preached because here we can go into personal explanations of these things. Third, I think pastoral counseling means more than the sermon because here is the chance of more interchange between people and what they think. I believe that the ministry is most effective where there is a personal contact between the minister and his people and this, of course, doesn't occur in the sermon.

Similar depreciations of the sermon also occur in other connections in the interview. To the question, "How effective do you think your sermons are?" the pastor of St. John's answers as follows:

I don't believe my sermons are particularly effective. At least this has been the reaction of people in discussion when I ask them about it. Sermons themselves never had a great effect on me and I don't believe that you can get across to people a sense of the church's mission and its purpose just by sermons. I think you can get it across much better in conversation with them because here you have an interplay between them and yourself whereas in a sermon there is this lack of interplay--they just sit there and cannot answer back.

Somebody who does not believe in the effectiveness of sermons in general is not likely to be very effective with them. Many members of the congregation, though they might not like to have John Wesley preaching from their pulpit, expect something other than what they are getting.

No "Sense of Community."--Other sources of dissatisfaction appear in the interviews as lack of direction, lack of consensus in the congregation on how it should relate itself to its neighborhood and the various kinds of people there. The pastor knows what he wants to do and what he would like the congregation to do in this respect: "Reaching the . . . section, extending the Youth Work Program to the youth in the church and the community, and reaching the 60% of the adults who are not involved yet in the Sunday School. . . . The basic need is for this church to have some sense of community." The "section" is, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, the well-to-do section up the hill; it is mostly Jewish and the Protestants around there go, if they go anywhere, to the Presbyterian church half-way up the hill, as the pastor of St. John's remarks at another point in the interview. Yet he is fascinated by this section--quite in contrast to the big public housing development nearby which he mentions only as a problem: there are Negroes in the development, middle-class Negroes, and the church, including the pastor, would rather not face that problem right now. The pastor is, however, convinced, that the congregation must grow or die, and to grow it must reach out into the neighborhood and draw in members of non-Lutheran background. That is what he means when he says it should have "a sense of community."

He seems to see two main difficulties. One is this:

The community is primarily non-Lutheran in background, therefore the congregation and its members do not see any need of serving them.

The other difficulty lies within himself:

I am reluctant to take up too much work in the community because of the pressing problems and needs of my own congregation. . . . I drag my feet when I get requests from people in the community because I don't feel it is right to take my time away from the needs of my own members. Of course, when it is a personal problem from a non-member they get the same interest and attention as with a regular member.

And it is not only the problem of "time." At another point he says in answer to the question: "Do you feel that the church has a social responsibility as well as a responsibility for the individual salvation of souls?"

Yes, I do believe that we have responsibility, a social responsibility, but I would place this second to the primary responsibility of the salvation of their souls.

If the position of the pastor seems clear enough, the position of the members of St. John's is far from clear. This starts with various conflicting definitions of "the neighborhood of the church," as noted in the preceding chapter. The question, "Should the pastor be active in community affairs?" is answered with "yes" by 79% of the congregation. But do they all mean the same thing and do they mean the same thing as the pastor does? Probably not.

	<u>St. John's</u>	
	Rate Pastor:	
	"Very successful"	Not "very successful"
<u>"Should the Pastor be active in community affairs?"</u>	82%	77%
<u>"Is the Pastor active in community affairs?"</u>	67%	49%

(See also TABLE 2--CHAPTER III.)

Predictably, the gap between the "should" and the "is" is larger for the group which does not rate the pastor "very

successful." The gap is, in fact, considerable: 28 percentage points. Lack of community activities on the pastor's part seems to be one of the sources of dissatisfaction.

Of course, this does not mean that there are no members in St. John's who, in the pastor's words, "still have to be led into understanding their responsibility to the neighborhood," who, for example, object to the church's basement being opened as a polling place during elections. But, just as the opposition to integration is small relative to that in other congregations and does not seem to justify the pastor's apprehension, so his hesitations about community activities do not seem to be justified by the answers to the questionnaire. It seems that the pastor of St. John's, in contrast to most other ministers, who play down their difficulties with the membership and their council, makes these difficulties appear large in his interview. It may be that he pays too much attention to what a vocal group of middle-aged ladies has to say without noticing different opinions among his parishioners.

On the whole the relationship between pastor and congregation of St. John's does not contain any explosive or disruptive elements. It may get a little better or a little worse, and it may go on for a long time if the outside situation does not change radically and force the pastor as well as the congregation to make up their minds.

The Pastor of St. Luke's

The Crisis.--Of all seven ministers studied here the pastor of St. Luke's is by far the least "successful," according

to our respondents: only 22% (13 respondents) rate the job he is doing "very successful" from an all around point of view, although 68% (40 respondents) like his sermons "very well." The survey caught this congregation in an acute crisis over the retirement of the pastor at 65 which part of the congregation wished and which he himself did not wish. The crisis shows clearly in the survey data in spite of the very small number of respondents, only 59. Our sample of members of this congregation is probably biased against the pastor.¹ The main facts are, however, not affected by this lack of representativeness.

Part of the trouble is that the pastor serves the congregation only part-time--for a part-time salary--and holds two teaching jobs on the side. He also lives far away from the church. The pastor likes this arrangement; he likes to preach and he likes to teach, but he does not like the administrative and organizational jobs on which some pastors spend a lot of time. He has left most of this work to laymen, one of whom is highly competent to do it and to get others to help him. This man has, however, become the leader of the opposition to the pastor.

The main facts of the situation are that, at the time of the survey, a veritable revolution was under way in St. Luke's.

¹The survey became a bone of contention in the crisis of this congregation: the pastor was against the self-study and the survey and just barely permitted himself to be interviewed. On the other hand, the driving forces of the opposition looked upon the whole study as a means to further their aims, and thus they are represented among the respondents relatively much more than the friends of the pastor. The sample is also biased in favor of council-members and other people in leadership positions, in all 28 out of 59 respondents.

In contrast to St. Mark's, this revolution stems from highly involved members in leading positions; in contrast to both St. Mark's and St. Matthew's, it does not pit a reform-minded pastor against a conservative congregation but just the opposite. The opposition in the congregation wants changes in the policy and program of the church, especially a new approach to the neighborhood, and the pastor wants to go on as before, with the necessary changes made in such a way that he does not have to change his ways. From another aspect St. Luke's is unlike St. Mark's and St. Matthew's and is like the "uneasy," yet quiet, St. John's: the environment of the church, its neighborhood, does not force rapid change in the congregation; there is no immediate urgency, but instead an accumulation of neglected tasks which demands action.

In St. Luke's, as in all four "dissatisfied" congregations, long-term members rate the pastor less often "very successful" than short-term members (16% to 33%). As in St. Matthew's, but more so, the opposition to the pastor is more active and more involved in church affairs than the people who think highly of him. A larger proportion of the opposition goes to church "at least three times a month" (76% vs. 62%)--though, again, we find that they pay "close attention" less often (54% vs. 69%). The opposition more often belongs to one or more church organizations (67% vs. 38%) and more often holds positions of leadership (54% vs. 23%).

The most dramatic illustration of the relationship between the pastor and the opposition is found in the table below which shows that almost all respondents in leadership

positions have a poor opinion of the pastor.

	St. Luke's	
	Respondents hold- ing a position	Respondents not hold- ing a position
Rate pastor "very successful"	11% (3)	32% (10)
Rate pastor not "very successful"	89% (25)	68% (21)
	100% (28) ^a	100% (31)

The second question which reveals the power situation in St. Luke's as clearly as the distribution of offices between the opposition and the followers of the pastor, is the following:

	St. Luke's	
	Rate Pastor:	
	"Very successful" (N = 13)	Not "very successful" (N = 46)
<u>"Over the last five years, who has had the most to do with deciding the program of your congregation?"</u>		
Denominational	15% (2)	20% (9)
The pastor	15% (2)	7% (3)
Local congregation members	15% (2)	46% (21)
Don't know	46% (6)	26% (12)
No answer	- (1)	- (1)

Since members of the congregation make the decisions, most people would suggest changes in the program of the church, not to the pastor, but to an "officer of the church or of a church organization."

Yet clear as is the picture provided by the survey, it cannot tell an important fact about the opposition which

^aAccording to the self-study, St. Luke's had at that time 15 council members and 3 Elders and altogether 32 persons in leadership positions, but, as they are not enumerated, it is not clear whether or not these positions are the same as those enumerated in the questionnaire.

becomes visible in the interviews, namely, that the opposition has a leader who runs it and runs much of the congregation. None of the other seven congregations has a lay leader directly challenging the authority of the pastor in practically every area of the pastoral function, and if this were not an unusual case, the institutions of the Lutheran, or any other, church would hardly survive in their present form. The case may, however, not be so unusual as to constitute a freak, but may rather be an extreme form of something not so unusual, the pastor who is not a leader of men and the layman who is and gradually begins to assume spiritual leadership too. In this case, no satisfactory division of labor was instituted between the pastor and his chief lay support who was at the same time his chief opponent.

This became evident--even more than it had already been from the interview with the pastor's opponent and with other members of the Church Council--when, several months after the survey, a meeting of the congregation was called to vote on the question whether the pastor should retire some months later on reaching the age of 65 or not.¹

At this meeting the pastor said: "I broke down under one thing: constant criticism." The pastor's opponent repeated his criticism in a 45-minute speech and accused the pastor not only of not doing his duty (especially not visiting and not evangelizing) and various other personal failings, but also of not showing proper "reverence" toward God. "We have

¹The writer attended this meeting and took notes.

not had the Gospel as we should have had it." He mentioned several times the "God of the burning bush" (the film, "The Ten Commandments," was being shown at the time) and related how, after the building of a big, middle-income housing project in the neighborhood, he had a vision while standing on the street:

We see faces with a look of hunger. On the streets, in these big new housing projects . . . they are hungry for Christ. But the congregation feels secure in the comfortable little preaching of the pastor that God loves us. . . . But if we meet the Lord, the Lord will say, "You have sat back and tried to do a cheap job in religion."

Even when not having visions, this man thinks that St. Luke's "should aim at a minimum of 500 members and I think we should shoot for a 1000." (There were about 100 people at the congregational meeting. About the present size of the congregation see preceding chapter.)

The pastor's opponent made it abundantly clear that he felt himself responsible for carrying on the work of the revered founder of the church, who had served as minister here for 65 years, a record on the American continent. The opponent had been around longer than the present pastor, in fact since he was four years old. At a time when the church was displaced from its old site, it would hardly have been rebuilt without the leadership and effort of this man. It is also well known in the congregation, though he only hinted at it in his speech, that--from his executive's salary--he carries an unusually large amount of the financial burden of the congregation, other contributions being generally very low. He no longer lives in the neighborhood of this church, but it is his church

and he wants it to evangelize the whole region.

A clue to why these two men, the pastor and his opponent, who are glaring contrasts in character, outlook and behavior,¹ have gone on struggling with each other for 23 years may be seen in the distribution of votes at the congregational meeting: 40 for retirement of the pastor, 58 against retirement. The two camps in the "divided" congregation of St. Luke's are too nearly equal in strength--the pro-pastor forces being more numerous but less active than the anti-pastor forces--for one to prevail without the help of outside forces or sudden changes in the environment.

The two camps are not divided so much over the issue of "the God of Love," as preached by the pastor, versus "the God of Justice," as preached by the lay leader, as over the issue of the congregation's future. Should it remain a "warm, friendly family-church," essentially a social club of middle class people of German descent, with the certain prospect of becoming smaller and smaller as its old members move to the suburbs and their children find new churches, or should it try to recruit new members in the neighborhood, perhaps not only Lutherans moving into the area, but also other people, who are not church members? This would entail a great effort on the part of the present members, a sacrifice of time for evangelizing the neighborhood and getting the program and organization of the church into better shape and a sacrifice of money for the

¹A different--and complementary--approach would be a social-psychological study in role-relationships. This, though tempting, is not undertaken here.

salary either of a full-time pastor or of an assistant pastor to help the present part-time pastor (the latter a solution which the anti-pastor party rejects). We can only guess how many of the followers of the lay leader are really ready to make these sacrifices. It is obvious, however, that, for the conservative party, any large influx of new members and insistent demands for larger contributions and evangelizing efforts would only spoil the church.

The pastor himself does not voice any opposition to evangelizing in the neighborhood--as long as he does not have to do the visiting--but he does not expect spectacular results. "It is very difficult to get into these new housing projects," he says. He prefers to visit sick people "to whom one can be of some help." This attitude, which is not wholly negative but cautious, seems to fit in well with the mood of the conservative party in the congregation. Anyway, 54% (that is, seven respondents) of his followers are willing to attest that the pastor is "active in community affairs"--the same seven respondents who also think the pastor "should be active in community affairs," who also state that he is "well known in the neighborhood of the church" and that "most of the new members are brought into the church by the personal efforts of the pastor." The pastor himself seems to agree more with his opponents of whom only 9% (4 respondents) say that he is "active in community affairs," though he does not agree with the 74% (34 respondents) of this group who think he should be active.

The Sermons.--What loyalty the pastor commands in the congregation he derives from his preaching. Sixty-eight per

cent of the respondents like his sermons "very well," that is, all of those who rate him "very successful" and 59% of those who do not. In his interview the pastor states that:

The sermon is far more important than the liturgy. It is personal. It is the most important part of the service. . . . I think the congregation feels as I do.

About the way he preaches he says:

I do not plan for the church year. I preach the Gospel. And I think what interests me will also interest the congregation. . . . I do fundamental preaching. Just the Truth. No new-fangled things. I read a great deal but you might call my preaching "old fashioned." I do not believe in stressing the fact that we are Lutherans. I preaching scriptural, not doctrinal. People don't care for the abstract. . . . I want them to have confidence, courage, hope, love. I want them to feel lifted up.

Obviously, he succeeds with a good many of his parishioners. The "new-fangled things" he does not like seem to be sermons with a social or psychological slant. He does bring into his sermons the things he reads, and his interests are not at all narrow. At the congregational meeting two of the younger people were especially articulate about what they like in the pastor's sermons. A young man said:

In this city you have to bring the people more than the Bible. You have to connect the Gospel with the present day, with their lives. That is what Pastor does. He talks about writers, modern philosophy, what happens today, he shows what that means in the light of the Gospel. This is how one must preach to the people here.

And a young woman said:

I came to this church because I did not like the preaching in the church where I was before. It was always "be good" and so on, what everybody knows anyway. If one goes to college and reads, one gets the impression that all intelligent people are atheists. The Pastor gives us a chance to hear about philosophy, and books, and modern thought and so on. He shows us that intelligent people can be Christians.¹

¹From the data, it cannot be decided whether the pastor's sermons generally appeal more to educated people because the

The charge of sentimentality, which the pastor's opponent makes, finds perhaps some support in the fact that a smaller proportion of the men likes the sermons "very well" (55%, 11 men) than of the women (73%, 27 women) although the proportions of men and women who rate the pastor "very successful" are almost the same (20% and 22%). Women are, however, more often pleased with the sermons they hear in every one of the seven congregations, and, although the difference in percentage points between men and women is greater in St. Luke's (18 points) than in the other cases (from 3 to 10 points), one cannot base a case on such small numbers. (See TABLE 4--CHAPTER III.) Certainly, the pastor is not "very strict in insisting on the religious teaching of the church"; he is, according to his parishioners, the least "strict" of the seven ministers: only two out of 59 respondents (two followers) rate him "very strict," and he himself does not want to be "strict," as is evident from the quotation above. But the rating "not strict" may imply criticism as well as praise, or it may be a matter of indifference to the respondent. In this "divided" congregation it means all three things to different respondents.

As mentioned before, the pastor's fate was not decided by the majority vote for him at the meeting of the congregation. A few months later, when he turned 65, he retired from

number of respondents becomes too small as soon as one uses more than two dichotomized variables and in this case at least the overall rating of the pastor would have to be held constant before one could say something about the effect of education on appreciation of the sermons.

the ministry of St. Luke's. Whether the division in the congregation can now be overcome seems doubtful, for it is not so much about the person of the pastor as about what kind of church this church should be.

Main Factors that Influence the Rating of
the Pastors in Seven Congregations

In Zion and St. John's conditions in the neighborhood, though difficult and demanding adjustment, have not changed so rapidly, nor become so desperate as in Trinity, St. Matthew's and St. Mark's. With regard to neighborhood conditions, Zion and St. John's are similar to St. Luke's, but internal conditions in the congregations are quite different, as neither the "contented" congregation, Zion, nor "uneasy" St. John's have an organized opposition against the pastor, as "divided" St. Luke's has. We have thus, among our seven cases, examples of difficulties emanating from the outside, from within the congregation, from a combination of outside difficulties with internal tensions, and further, we have these various patterns of difficulties in various degrees of urgency. We can safely say that organized opposition against the pastor within the congregation, together with a precipitating outside factor, is most likely to lead to the termination of the relationship between pastor and congregation.

If, on the other hand, we try to bring into the simplest formula what makes for a happy and a lasting relationship between a pastor and his congregation, we must say that, as far as our cases show, a good preacher who does not upset things

by drastic reforms will be most appreciated by the congregation, but, of course, only so long as no disturbances intervene from the outside and no activist reform party develops inside the congregation, as was the case in St. Luke's. For the majority of the congregation, the pastor's sermons are the main thing by which he is judged. An undetermined proportion of members--probably varying greatly with the size and traditions of the congregations--also judges the pastor as a counsellor for personal problems and as a giver of comfort to the sick, the lonely, or the merely bored. The way he shakes hands at the church door probably enters into the general judgment he gets of the church members, but the data provide only some hints in the interviews concerning the importance of such personal contacts and, in the survey, the complaints about too little visiting, above all in St. Matthew's.

Only those members, however, who belong to church organizations, hold church offices, and especially those who serve on the church council, get to know the pastor well in his other functions as administrator, organizer, teacher, leader of men. Their judgment may therefore diverge from the judgment of the majority of the congregation: in St. Matthew's, a higher proportion of councilmen than of ordinary members is unfavorable to the pastor, while in St. John's and St. Mark's the opposite is true and councilmen rate the pastors more favorably than ordinary members do. In the other four cases, that is in all three "satisfied" congregations and in St. Luke's, the councilmen represent the majority opinion.

The two questions whether the pastor should be and is active in community affairs do not divide the "satisfied" from the "dissatisfied" congregations: community activity is not a primary criterion by which to judge the pastor. Up to one-fourth of the congregation (in Zion) do not even know whether or not the pastor should be active and up to half the members (in Zion, St. Matthew's and St. Luke's) do not know whether or not the pastor is active in community affairs. This latter question seems often to be decided on the ground of general satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the pastor. Very few people say "no, the pastor is not active in community affairs," except in St. Luke's where the matter has become an issue in the congregation and 34% say "no." Community activity is, thus, a secondary criterion which may, at best, help to offset other shortcomings of the pastor. The question how well the pastor is known in the neighborhood around the church seems to be answered still more often according to a generally favorable or unfavorable attitude towards the pastor, although in the two integrated churches, Trinity and St. Mark's, even the dissatisfied respondents recognize the fact that their pastor has made himself known in the neighborhood. Since these respondents have, in general, a negative attitude towards the neighborhood--especially in St. Mark's--such an acknowledgment does not necessarily constitute approval.

Another variable affecting, as a secondary criterion, the rating of the pastor by his congregation is the degree of "democracy" or "autocracy" instituted by the pastor. The Lutheran pastor is, of course, even in America, invested with

considerable authority by reason of his office. But if he cannot supplement this impersonal authority with personal authority (charismatic leadership seems to be too big a term here), if he does not know how to make his aims clear and understood and to enlist the support not only of his councilmen but also of a considerable part of the more involved members of the congregation, then the exercise of his authority will be resented as autocratic behavior. Strong, authoritarian pastors are to be found among our "successful" and our "unsuccessful" ones, and pastors who lead their congregations in a democratic manner are also found in both categories. There is only one weak, or disinterested minister, who does not lead at all and he is in the "unsuccessful" category, of course, for some exercise of authority is part of the pastor's office, and not to be neglected.

From the contrasting cases of Trinity and St. Mark's, both struggling with racial integration, one successfully, one unsuccessfully, we may conclude that there is a feedback process operating: if the enterprise is going well, as in Trinity, the pastor will look like the embodiment of the will of the congregation and most "democratic," whereas, if things are not going well, it is obviously his fault for not listening to those who had always said that that would happen. Of course, the case of St. Mark's was aggravated by the failure of communication between pastor and congregation. Communication is vital in all relations between the leader and the led, and one would like to have more systematic data on how well the seven pastors have made their aims understood in the

congregations.

In the questionnaire on which this study is based there is only one question which seeks to get at the pastor's theological orientation as it is viewed by his congregation. The question is: "How strict is your minister in insisting on the religious teachings of your church? Very strict - Fairly strict - Not so strict - Don't know." The results of this question are inconclusive. It does not divide the "satisfied" and the "dissatisfied" congregations. Though in all seven cases the respondents who rate the pastor favorably more often say that he is "very strict" than those who rate him unfavorably, there are in Trinity and St. Luke's more people, favorable to the pastor, who rate him only "fairly," or "not so strict." Thus, "strict" may be praise as well as dispraise. High proportions of "don't know's" occur, particularly among those not favorable to the pastor.

We may assume that the respondents do not know very much about "the religious teaching of their church" (this assumption is supported by answers to relevant questions in the interviews) and therefore cannot really judge how strict their pastor is in insisting on them; because of their ignorance, respondents seem to have answered this question, in part, as a sort of character rating. The pastors of "satisfied" St. Peter's and of "dissatisfied" St. Matthew's, both very successful preachers, get the highest rating for being "very strict": 61% (194 respondents) and 57% (94 respondents) of those favorably disposed towards them. Only two favorably disposed respondents and nobody else in St. Luke's think the

pastor is "very strict." Not more than 35% (73 respondents) of those who think the energetic pastor of "proud," integrated Trinity is "very successful" also think that he is "very strict." One may thus conclude that there is no necessary connection, either positive or negative, between a pastor's "strictness" and his orientation towards social action.

We may now undertake to isolate a few key variables for the description of the pastor-congregation relationship. The key variables which emerge from the study of our seven cases are of three kinds: (1) attributes of the pastor, (2) aggregate attributes of church members, and (3) attributes of the social environment of the church.

Under (1) come the following variables--which may each prove to be several different, though related variables:

- the pastor's ability as a preacher,
- the pastor's ability to make himself liked personally,
- the pastor's ability to make his aims clear and understood,
- the pastor's ability to lead,
- the pastor's ability as an organizer of actions,
- the pastor's reform-mindedness or conservatism.

Under (2) fall:

- the judgment of all the pastor's abilities--or inabilities--by the congregation, singly and compounded into a general judgment,
- the judgment of the pastor as against his predecessor by the congregation,
- agreement or disagreement in the congregation with

the pastor's basic reform-mindedness or conservatism,

the size of the opposition to the pastor in the congregation, the kind of the opposition--whether among marginal or more active members, whether organized or unorganized.

- (3) Comprises the size and urgency of external difficulties in the neighborhood of the church over which the pastor and his opposition (if any) are divided.

The list is probably incomplete for our sample of seven cases is itself in no way complete. The important thing to note is, however, that it is not just the pastor, his personality, his abilities, his aims and his methods which determine his relationships to the congregation, but just as much the state of the congregation as a well or badly functioning social entity with a history of its own and with a social environment which influences the congregation even if it tries to ignore it.

The most important decision a congregation ever makes is when it selects a new pastor. The internal peace of the congregation depends largely on his skills and personality. Also, the future relationship of the congregation with its neighborhood cannot be decided without taking the pastor's inclinations and abilities into account. It is therefore a grave mistake if congregations, as they are wont to do, select a new pastor mainly upon his performance as a guest preacher.

Failure to agree on a policy towards the neighborhood of the church and the problems of social change is evident in

the relations of some of our congregations with their pastors, notably in St. Matthew's and St. Mark's. In both cases, the difficulties arising from the necessity to formulate a neighborhood policy might have been foreseen at the time the pastors were called. If, however, there seems to be a lack of foresight, of understanding, of the ability to conceive any kind of policy on the part of the congregations and their leading members, there is also sometimes unrealistic thinking on the part of the pastor, misjudgment of the mood of the congregation or of the power of its leading members and failure to clarify and explain the policy which the pastor wants to adopt.

We have treated here three main areas of the pastor's competence on which he is judged by the members of his congregation: the sermons, his relations with the members of the congregation and, especially, with councilmen and church officers, and the formulation of a policy toward the social environment of the church. None of these areas of competence is independent of the others, nor should any one of them be considered or judged by itself.

The relationship between the pastor and the congregation is good if their aims are generally understood to be the same and if the pastor is a successful preacher. But if the relationship is good, it is not necessarily "effective," either in the sense that the members of the congregation are more involved in the life of the church than is usual, or in the sense that they successfully strive for an application of the principles and influence of their church outside the congregation. We cannot, of course, tell whether a good relationship

between pastor and congregation is "effective" in saving individual souls, or indeed what conditions are best for that purpose.

If a "good" relationship between pastor and congregation is not enough to guarantee effects on either the members or the social environment, what is necessary for those two purposes? It is, first, that the aims that are generally understood to be the same as between pastor and congregation be dynamic aims--aims which demand the increasing involvement of the members or action in the social environment; second, that the pastor have leadership abilities--that he lead more than be led by his congregation, that he exercise the authority with which his office has invested him, but also temper it by winning personal loyalty from his congregation; third, that the size and the urgency of the problems the congregation tries to take on--if it does turn actively towards its social environment--be not overwhelmingly great.

It may well be that the greatest obstacle to a policy of active adjustment to changing neighborhoods--the policy desired by many denominational leaders (cf. Chapter I)--is the lack of generally accepted norms concerning the kind, form, and speed of adjustment. This lack is evidenced by the variety of opinions voiced by pastors and leading members in the interviews and in the uncertainty or indifference of ordinary respondents in the survey. Thus environmental problems are often treated neither rationally nor on the basis of ideological or theological norms, but are worked out on the

level of personal relationships. These relationships are usually between the pastor and a group of supporters as against the rest of the congregation, which may be a majority or a minority of members.

Uncertainty and indifference will become more obvious in the next chapter which analyzes the congregations' satisfaction with their own job.

TABLE 3--CHAPTER III
SATISFACTION WITH PASTOR

<u>"How would you rate the job that your pastor is doing from an all around point of view?"</u>						
	Very successful %	Fairly successful %	Not too successful %	No answer %	Total Number	+ -
St. Peter's	93	4	2	1	(339)	(316) (23)
Trinity*	91	7		1	(231)	(211) (20)
Zion	85	9	2	3	(256)	(218) (38)
St. Matthew's	55	36	5	4	(302)	(166) (136)
St. Mark's	51	37	4	8	(211)	(107) (104)
St. John's	48	43	6	3	(215)	(103) (112)
St. Luke's	22	41	29	8	(59)	(13) (46)
*Trinity						
Negroes	96	4	-	-	(113)	(108) (5)
Whites	87	11	1	1	(115)	(100) (15)

Note: The answer "very successful" is indicated by a "+" sign; all other answers or no answer by a "-" sign.

TABLE 2--CHAPTER III
RATINGS OF THE PASTOR'S ACTIVITIES

<u>"How well do you like the sermons your Pastor preaches?"</u> <u>Percentage of respondents who check "Very well."</u>			
	All respondents %	Rate Pastor: + "Very successful" %	- Not "very successful" %
St. Peter's	83	86	35
Trinity	75	80	25
Zion	78	85	34
St. Matthew's	77	88	65
St. Mark's	59	80	38
St. John's	43	61	27
St. Luke's	68	100	59
<u>"How well known is your minister in the neighborhood around the church?"</u> <u>Percentage of respondents who check "Well known."</u>			
St. Peter's	85	88	44
Trinity	93	94	75
Zion	44	49	13
St. Matthew's	20	30	7
St. Mark's	59	74	43
St. John's	24	32	17
St. Luke's	20	54	11

Note: Total number of respondents in TABLE 1--CHAPTER III.

TABLE 2--CHAPTER III--Continued

"Do you think your minister should
be active in community affairs?"

Percentage of respondents who
check "Yes."

	All respondents %	Rate Pastor:	
		+ "Very successful" %	- Not "very successful" %
St. Peter's	75	75	74
Trinity	87	87	85
Zion	63	62	68
St. Matthew's	67	71	63
St. Mark's	85	86	85
St. John's	79	82	77
St. Luke's	70	54	74

"Is your minister active in community affairs?"

Percentage of respondents who check "Yes."

St. Peter's	66	68	30
Trinity	85	85	85
Zion	44	49	16
St. Matthew's	30	40	18
St. Mark's	72	78	65
St. John's	58	67	49
St. Luke's	19	54	9

TABLE 3--CHAPTER III

PARTICIPATION AND SATISFACTION WITH PASTOR

	St. Peter's + (316)(23)	Trinity + (211)(20)	Zion + (218)(38)	St. Matthew's + (166)(136)	St. Mark's + (107)(104)	St. John's + (103)(112)	St. Luke's + (13)(46)
Rate Pastor: Total numbers							
% of respondents who:							
Attend Sunday services at least 3/month*	47 52	71 40	53 29	53 62	51 51	74 46	62 76
Pay very close attention during service†	51 22	52 30	49 32	60 43	63 36	26 18	69 54
Belong to one or more church organizations*	38 39	66 65	53 43	44 56	64 46	44 38	38 67
Hold some responsible position in church*	16 17	37 45	34 21	24 32	29 27	35 25	23 54
Feel they have a voice in policy and program†	44 26	54 50	42 29	43 38	45 19	50 40	30 54
Say that decisions are . . . democratic†	62 36	72 47	66 32	52 46	49 37	79 54	85 59

*Overall percentages for each congregation in TABLE 4--CHAPTER II.

†Overall percentages for congregations in sequence as above:

49	50	46	52	49	22	58
43	53	41	40	32	45	49
60	70	61	49	43	66	64

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS SATISFIED WITH PASTOR

Percentage of respondents checking
"Very successful" on question:
"How would you rate the job that
your pastor is doing from an all
around point of view?"

	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
All respondents	93	91	85	55	51	48	22
Men	90	88	85	54	49	49	24
Women	96	93	85	56	51	47	21
Under 50 years old	91	90	78	57	45	56	17
Over 50 years old	98	93	91	53	57	32	24
A member for:							
Up to 5 years	89	96	86	70	60	66	33
More than 5 years	95	85	85	49	47	41	16
Under 50 years and short membership	89	95	83	68	52	64	29
Under 50 years and long membership	92	78	74	49	40	52	12
Over 50 years and short membership	91	100	92	76	100	73	38
Over 50 years and long membership	99	91	90	48	52	25	19
Less educated	96	90	86	60	53	52	19
Better educated	89	92	84	50	47	44	23

Note: Total numbers for the categories in TABLES 2 and 3--CHAPTER II.

CHAPTER IV

HOW GOOD A JOB ARE THE SEVEN CONGREGATIONS DOING?

In this chapter, we shall try to find indications of what the respondents had in mind when they expressed satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the job the congregation is doing. Satisfaction is measured by the respondents' answers to the following question: "All in all, how good a job do you think your congregation is doing?" The answer "very good job" is taken to indicate satisfaction, the answers "fairly good job," "rather poor job," "don't know" and no answers are taken to indicate dissatisfaction. (For results see TABLE 1--CHAPTER IV.) The question leaves it to the respondent to decide what "the job" of the congregation is and also who represents the congregation--all members, the active members, the council, or one of these entities together with the pastor? In spite of these ambiguities in the wording of the question, only a few individuals in each congregation did not answer. Even the "don't know's" do not go above 13% (in dissatisfied St. Mark's). We shall first relate satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the congregation's job to those answers to survey question which concern the various problems inside and outside the congregation. Next, the kinds of people who tend to be satisfied or dissatisfied in the various circumstances provided by the seven cases will be studied.

Before people were asked to express satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the congregation's job, they were asked a question meant to give perspective to their judgment: "Are the problems facing your congregation more difficult, less difficult or about the same as the problems facing other city congregations that you know about?" (For results see TABLE 2-- CHAPTER IV.) Few respondents, anywhere, say that their problems are "less difficult"; in all but two cases the largest group says "about the same"; from one-fifth to one-third say they "don't know." What is characteristic for the particular congregation appears most clearly, however, in the large variations of proportions of respondents who say their problems are "more difficult" than those of other congregations: 3% only in St. John's to 67% of the White members in Trinity. These differences in the rating of the difficulty of the congregation's problems will be used as a basis for grouping the seven congregations in the following study of their problems. The grouping is charted below.

	<u>"Satisfied"</u> <u>Congregations</u>	<u>"Dissatisfied"</u> <u>Congregations</u>
See their problems as about equally difficult as those of other congregations	St. Peter's Zion	St. John's
See their problems as more difficult	Trinity	St. Mark's (St. Matthew's) (St. Luke's)

The "satisfied" congregations, St. Peter's and Zion, which consider their problems as quite ordinary will be studied together, followed by St. John's which is "dissatisfied" but

also thinks it has no special problems. "Dissatisfied" St. Matthew's and St. Luke's are intermediate cases where a part of the respondents, but not a large part, thinks the problems of the congregation are more difficult than those of others. "Satisfied" Trinity and "dissatisfied" St. Mark's will also be treated together. Both are highly conscious of facing especially difficult problems.

St. Peter's and Zion's External and Internal
Peace--Somewhat Disturbed

The two "satisfied" congregations, St. Peter's and Zion, vary a great deal in size and level of participation, but they show a similar climate of opinion, expressed, among other things, by small proportions of respondents who say the congregation's problems are "more difficult" than those of other city churches: 6% in St. Peter's and 10% in Zion. More than half of the respondents in each case think their problems are "about the same." Differences between respondents who are satisfied or dissatisfied with the congregation are not essential. Dissatisfied respondents have far higher "don't know" rates--as they have on many questions in these two congregations.

The intensive interviews with the pastors and some members of the congregations provide a wide range of problems of greater or lesser importance that bother the people interviewed. Thus the interviews supplement the rather limited range of problems covered by the survey questionnaire and suggest explanations for some of the findings from the survey. As the interviews, however, vary very much in the quality of data

they yield, they cannot be used for the systematic study of the congregation's problems.

The pastor of St. Peter's, who has been with the congregation for 26 years, considers this the "principal problem" during the last five years:

Work among men. They do a great deal, but to get them organized into a brotherhood [is a problem]. . . . To get men to cooperate in out-reach program. Women are no problem.

And this is what the pastor has to say about the "major problem that the church is likely to face in the next five years":

Integration is a major problem. Recruiting of oldsters to offset losses. . . . Flight to suburbs: money and leadership goes.

The pastor of Zion, who has served the congregation for five years, enumerates a great many different problems, not always in the same order, so that one cannot tell which ones are most urgent in his mind. The big problem in the past, the problem he has overcome since he came to the congregation, is that of the church building. His success in rescuing the run-down property is a reason for satisfaction in the congregation. But another problem that also existed already at the time the pastor came is not solved. It is that there are not enough young people in the congregation. While the pastor of St. Peter's would like to recruit "oldsters," the pastor of Zion is worried about the lack of young married couples and of young people in his congregation--in which 55% are over fifty years old.

Both pastors see such imbalance in the composition of the membership largely in terms of leadership and contributions

and both are worried about the "flight to the suburbs" which costs the congregations those people who by and by might replace the present older leadership and "good givers." In both cases, the neighborhood is changing and the people moving in are of a different social, often a different racial background. While the interview with the pastor of St. Peter's produces scarce samples of the pastor's personal opinions, we know that the pastor of Zion thinks "the prejudice in the hearts of the members" would have to be overcome in order to make recruitment in the larger neighborhood possible.

The pastor of Zion also gives an example of how the remedy for one problem may breed new ones. In his effort to recruit young people, teenage and up, the pastor "had to build a youth program from the ground up," which now seems to be going well and to bring boys and girls into the congregation who stay when they grow older. But then, he says:

The congregation dissociates itself from the Church School. Just a lack of interest in the educational program of the church. Even the parents of the children seem aloof at times.

In this particular point and in general, the pastor finds it a "perennial problem of increasing the number of people involved in the work of the church," thus not complaining about the men alone, as the pastor of St. Peter's does.

The problem of involving people in the work of the church probably also includes, for the pastor of Zion, the problem of "how can the church serve the community best? . . . We are not serving as fully as we should."

Both pastors attribute their main problems to the flight

to the suburbs. But the pastor of Zion is not only much more willing to talk about his worries; he also puts more emphasis on an additional reason for them which is, the inability or unwillingness of the members to adjust to the changing conditions of the social environment. The pastor of St. Peter's does not emphasize the inability of his parishioners to adjust to changes in the environment, but this, to judge from the survey and from other interviews, does not mean that this trouble is lacking in St. Peter's.

There are six intensive interviews with active and leading members of St. Peter's and all of them stress the lack of leadership and the lack of involvement in church work as the main problems of St. Peter's.

There have been lots of leaders moving out and leaving the Church. (A young council member who himself lives 16 miles away from the church.)

There is a certain reluctance to try new things, new services and activities. Human beings all tend to do the same things. They are reluctant to try new things. (A middle-aged Sunday School teacher.)

I don't think that church membership has suffered more than a few per cent from people moving away. But people who move out are statistically in a better financial position. This may hurt in the long run. Another problem associated with this is the decrease or lack of interest in week-day activities. I believe it is associated with the people moving so far away from the church. This has not hurt the real object of the church, but it has decreased the central importance of the church in the lives of these people. (Another young council member who himself lives at a far distance from church.)

Some people just don't want to help. We live in a busy time. There is TV and people stay home more now than they used to. The older people had the church as their only entertainment and so they came out and worked for it. I don't mean that the church should be a club. (An older council member.)

The reasons given for these difficulties fall into three categories: "the pastor is to blame," or "the people are to blame," or "it's the circumstances." Into the first category fall comments like, "It's a one man church," meaning that the pastor wants to run everything himself, or "The church does not give as much recognition for services as it should, except for money gifts. Volunteers don't get enough recognition for their work," or "In the early days we had block parties, picnics, trips and we gave big suppers. Today, we are not allowed to have dinners for money." In the second category fall the quotations from the Sunday School teacher and the older council member above. The quotation from the second young council member belongs in the third category: people are moving out of the neighborhood, one cannot blame them for wanting to bring up their children in a better neighborhood, one cannot expect them to make the trip to church several times a week in order to do volunteer work. For those women who still live in the neighborhood another reason is advanced, in the case of St. Peter's as well as of Zion and other churches, namely, the dangers on the streets of big American cities at night. Interviewees report about churches which have no more evening meetings at all, about changed schedules and such measures as the pastor of Zion driving home the children of the Luther League himself.

One cannot take the intensive interviews as statistical evidence, but none of the five interviewees from Zion blames the pastor for failing to involve members in the work of the church; in fact, such complaints are barely uttered. And all

that appears in the Zion interviews about the leading, money-giving members moving away, their slow estrangement from the church, the slow deterioration of the neighborhood, the lack of safety on the streets at night, the worry about new members, drawn from the neighborhood, who lack leadership qualifications and the financial means to keep the church and its present program going--all this closely echoes the words of St. Peter's members. Yet--in direct contrast to their pastors --the interviewed members of Zion seem to be much more cheerful and less worried than those of St. Peter's. This may be due entirely to the selection of persons interviewed, which was not systematic. The interviews with members of Zion do not provide clues for the dissatisfaction with the congregation's job of a good third of the respondents in the survey. In the interviews, all problems are seen entirely as future problems, which, perhaps, one will never have to face.

The survey questionnaire does not provide a direct check on the problem of loss of leadership and financial support, but it contains a series of questions on gain or loss of members. In St. Peter's and in Zion most people say that the membership has been growing during the last five years (see TABLE 3--CHAPTER IV) and only very few take the chance to indicate that, nevertheless, the congregation has lost some old members. Only nine per cent both of the satisfied and of the dissatisfied members in St. Peter's and 10% and 9% respectively in Zion check "Old members have moved away" as a reason for loss of members. It is remarkable that the loss of old members, which deeply worries pastors, councilmen and

other specially interested members, apparently does not concern the ordinary members; nor is it an issue over which their opinions and feelings are divided--it is not related to their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the congregation's job.

At another point in the questionnaire those respondents who think that "over the last five years, there has been a change in the kind of people living in the neighborhood of the church" are asked to say "How good a job is your congregation doing in reaching the 'newcomers' in the community?"¹ It appears that in St. Peter's as well as in Zion a high rating of the job the congregation is doing in reaching the 'newcomers' is closely tied to a favorable rating of the "all in all" job, but is far less general. Even among those who think the congregation is doing a "very good" overall job, many have doubts about the evangelizing efforts in the neighborhood and many, especially in St. Peter's, come right out and say that in this task the congregation is doing only a "fairly good" or a "rather poor job."

	St. Peter's		Zion	
	Rate congregation's job:			
	"Very good"	Not "very good"	"Very good"	Not "very good"
<u>"In reaching the 'new-comers' congregation is doing":</u>				
Very good job	49% (61)	14% (8)	43% (41)	9% (5)
Fairly good, rather poor job	30% (37)	44% (25)	22% (21)	43% (23)
Don't know	22% (27)	42% (24)	35% (33)	48% (26)
	100% (125)	100% (57)	100% (95)	100% (54)

¹More people than were asked to answered that question, a little less than half the total in St. Peter's, somewhat more than half the total in Zion.

These answers, however, do not necessarily constitute disapproval or express the wish that greater efforts should be made. "Most people do not have much evangelical spirit" remarks one of the persons interviewed in St. Peter's and comments on the poor organization and ineffectual execution of an evangelizing campaign in the neighborhood some time ago. Such attitudes are not without reason. Both church neighborhoods are slowly declining, though the neighborhood of Zion is still on a considerably higher level than that of St. Peter's, which was always no better than lower middle class. The respondents are inclined to say that the 'newcomers' are making the community "worse" (12% in St. Peter's, 18% in Zion--the largest groups with any opinion on the subject), and, although fewer people say that the 'newcomers' make the congregation "weaker" (6% in St. Peter's, 9% in Zion), not many think they make the congregation stronger either (10% in St. Peter's, 11% in Zion). Recruitment of new members from the neighborhoods of both churches is thus a task which is approached with reservations: one does not want just anybody, especially not Negroes. We are back at the problem which the pastor of Zion calls "the prejudice in the hearts of the members."

Neither St. Peter's nor Zion is faced with an immediate decision on racial integration, but both see the problem coming--Zion at a farther distance than St. Peter's. At St. Peter's the immediate neighborhood is slowly coming down. Many Italian families--hardly suitable objects for evangelism by Lutherans--live there now, and Negroes--very suitable

objects from the viewpoint of denominational leaders--are moving into the region. Occasionally, Negroes have come to services in St. Peter's and there are a few in the Bible School, but the main policy of St. Peter's seems to be to help nearby Negro churches. One, which is building in the neighborhood, now is allowed to meet on the premises of St. Peter's, and gifts are being collected for this church. There is really no reason to expect that the Negroes in the neighborhood will try to join the congregation if they are not made welcome and if there are enough Negro churches nearby. Thus the decision whether St. Peter's should or should not integrate can easily be postponed for years and something similar to the Southern idea of "equal but separate" facilities for Negroes can be advocated. But this is not the South and the concern shown by members of St. Peter's indicates that they know it too. Nor would the congregation get support for such a policy from the leaders of the denomination.

The immediate neighborhood of Zion is still "good," largely Jewish middle class, but at a short distance Negroes and Puerto Ricans are moving in and the people interviewed all think it is only a matter of time till they will live around the church. Opposition to integration is proportionately only half as great as in St. Peter's. (See TABLE 4--CHAPTER IV.) At the time of the study, Zion has quietly taken in a Puerto Rican family of five. A woman interviewed says: "I know of some members who would not talk to them." But a long-time councilman's opinion is thus:

I am very willing that they may come in. They will never lose their traits if left alone. They have their own tongue--this way they learn American. Many of them have low standards; close quarters, low morals, low education. If they come to church, they will want to be more like us.

The problem, however, is still in the future and maybe --several of the persons interviewed suggest--Zion will somehow be spared.

In St. Peter's the problem seems much more urgent, opposition to racial integration is much stronger and the uncertain "don't know" answers are more numerous. This may reflect the cautious strategy of the pastor who, he says, will "try to temper the church council towards the problem." We have noticed in Chapter III that in this church opinion on integration and satisfaction with the pastor are not noticeably related--probably because the pastor has not made an issue of integration before the whole congregation. The pastor of Zion, on the other hand, "has talked about it a great deal in his sermons, preparing us for the decision that must be made," as one of his parishioners says.

In spite of these differences between the situations in St. Peter's and Zion, the relationship between the rating of the congregation's job and attitudes towards integration is again very similar. In both cases, satisfied respondents are more often for integration, less often against it and about as often undecided as the dissatisfied respondents are. The differences noted are small. The issue of racial integration is important to the respondents (one indication of this is that the tendency of dissatisfied respondents to say "don't

know" does not appear on this question), but their attitudes are not closely related to what they think about the job the congregation is doing. Integration is still in the future, it is not yet a part of the congregation's job except through feelings of apprehension or the wish to do what is necessary and right. (For St. Peter's see TABLE 4a--CHAPTER IV.)

In Zion, such apprehension may partly account for the low rate of satisfaction with the congregation among younger, educated people, for it is in this group that "no" answers to integration appear most concentrated: 24% as against 12% among younger, less educated respondents, 13% among older, less educated and 6% among older, better educated respondents. As younger people are already severely underrepresented in the congregation, the pastor may find himself in a dilemma if a more rapid population change in the neighborhood should force a decision.

In St. Peter's, on the other hand, opposition to integration is strongest among those who live more than 30 blocks away from the church and weakest among those who live within 10 blocks. This situation seems less dangerous, for, even if these members living at a distance may now be among the pillars of the congregation, they are bound to decline in numbers and importance any way, whether integration comes or not.

In St. Peter's as well as in Zion a good opinion of the neighborhood of the church is associated with a good opinion of the congregation's work. (See TABLE 6--CHAPTER IV.) It seems that the problems of the region around the church, the

changes coming over it (which are mostly seen as changes for the worse in both congregations), do not, most of the time, affect the satisfaction with what the congregation is doing. But the respondents who think the neighborhood is a nice place to live tend to like the congregation too and to say, therefore, that it is doing a very good job. In saying so they may have nothing more in mind than pleasant thoughts of home, friends, familiar places and familiar doings.

Respondents who do have some specific job in mind, or who are reminded of something by lists of problems in the questionnaire, can show whether or not this enters into their overall judgment of the congregation by their answers to series of questions on how good a job the congregation is doing on specific problems.¹ Overall judgment of the congregation's job and judgment of its job on specific problems are related in Zion much more so than in St. Peter's, reflecting the greater concern about the neighborhood in Zion. In Zion the neighborhood, the changes in it and the problems arising are the factors most closely associated with the rating of the congregation's overall job, at least as far as our material permits us to see. In St. Peter's, however, nothing seems to concern the members seriously now, but racial integration, should it become an actuality, would stir up the membership strongly.

¹The index of satisfaction with the job the congregation is doing on specific problems will be discussed in the next chapter.

St. John's
Peacefulness or Weakness?

St. John's, we recall, is a "dissatisfied" congregation. Only 48% think the pastor is "very successful" in doing his job; only 24% think the congregation is doing "a very good job." But in one respect St. John's is similar to St. Peter's and Zion; very few respondents (3%) think their congregation's problems are more difficult than those of other city churches (see TABLE 2--CHAPTER IV.)¹ This attitude, as we shall see, is based on neighborhood conditions somewhat similar to those of St. Peter's and Zion, a neighborhood which is changing only slowly, but enough to cause concern to some members. St. John's is a close-knit, small congregation; 72% of the respondents live within 10 blocks of the church.

As we have seen in the preceding chapter, dissatisfaction in St. John's arises from critical attitudes towards the pastor and from a certain factionalism based on differing attitudes towards the pastor and his program. This carries over into the judgment of the congregation's job. On the question, "In conducting the business of the congregation, how well do the members get along together?" 29% of the satisfied group say "fairly well" or "rather poorly" as against 56% of the dissatisfied majority--the latter the highest percentage in all seven cases.

These family quarrels are, however, not taken too seriously, it seems. Maybe it is assumed that they are "about

¹All of these six respondents are dissatisfied with the congregation's job.

the same" in other congregations. In the five intensive interviews conducted in St. John's, there are brief references to troubles the women's group is having and a man who is active in the Sunday School says, "Well, I think getting used to the pastor for the first two years was the principal problem." But on the whole, the atmosphere of the interviews is serene. The main problem of the congregation, as far as the people interviewed can see, is to get more rooms for the Sunday School. This means, in practice, to get money for the building fund and then to expand the physical facilities still further if the growth of the congregation envisaged by the pastor and some members becomes a reality.

The pastor plans not only for an expansion of the physical facilities of the church but also for a much larger staff, including "a parish worker, a social worker, something like a psychiatric clinic, an interne." Such plans are not mentioned by the people interviewed. For some of them, the present building plans are already too much, and one reports that the decision on these plans was close.

The pastor is also concerned about young recruits:

We have always lost about 50% of the Youth immediately after confirmation and I believe the basic problem has always been that the church adults did not want them to participate.

The respondents, however, seem far from upset about the membership situation of St. John's: 59% say that, during the last five years, "It's been growing," 23% say "just about holding its own"; only 2% say "It's been losing members." According to the one year old accounting of the self-study, only the 2%

are right.

As in St. Peter's and Zion, respondents who think the congregation is doing a very good job more often say that it has been growing. But as 55% of the dissatisfied members nevertheless think that the membership of St. John's has been growing, and the rest of them think it has been holding its own (27% or just do not know, we must conclude that lack of growth is not what makes them dissatisfied. (See TABLE 3--CHAPTER IV.)

Members of St. John's agree less than those of St. Peter's and Zion on the reasons for the alleged growth in membership. "Good pastoral leadership" is still checked most frequently, but a "good church program," "newcomers to neighborhood attracted to church," and "gain in population in neighborhood" are also checked frequently--more often than in almost all other congregations. In answer to the question how most of the new members are brought into the church one also finds that the members give themselves as much credit as they give the pastor (satisfied and dissatisfied members alike), think the evangelistic program is bringing in members and also credit, though less often, the church school. All this adds to the impression that among the members who are dissatisfied with the congregation's job, self-confidence is relatively strong and their "dissatisfaction" is directed mostly towards the pastor.

In St. John's, as in St. Peter's and Zion, racial integration is not yet an urgent issue but is close enough to be

discussed and to disturb some members. (See TABLE 4--CHAPTER IV.) The largest influx of population into the neighborhood in recent years has come with a big middle-income housing development, which includes about 2,000 middle-class Negroes. This housing development, which is very visible from the front door of St. John's, has not been made an object of evangelism and no Negroes have come to the church door. The pastor has this to say on the subject:

The council has discussed the idea of the responsibility of the church to the immediate neighborhood. There was no drastic disagreement about it although two out of the 21 would, I believe, oppose any admission of other races into the church at present. We did discuss this somewhat in terms of the implications of the Christian faith but it is all still a matter of leading people into understanding their responsibilities in this area.

The answers the respondents give to the integration question look far more positive. Eight-two per cent of the respondents say the congregation should accept persons of all races, only 9% that it should not. The answers are, however, unique insofar as St. John's is the only one among the seven cases where the respondents satisfied with the congregation's job are more often anti-integrationist than the dissatisfied group (17% as against 6%). These satisfied members, who do not want to see the character of St. John's change, are a small minority. On the other hand, we cannot assume that the dissatisfaction of the majority has anything to do with the fact that no Negroes have been taken into the church so far. There are no indications of anything of this kind in the interviews, rather of the opposite. Survey questions on the neighborhood also bring forth some negative attitudes towards

the inhabitants of the housing development. We must, again, conclude that this future problem of integration is not what worries the congregation.

Evangelization of the neighborhood and what the pastor calls "serving the community" are, of course, closely bound up with the attitudes towards the neighborhood prevailing in the congregation. Here, we have to take note again of the fact that, far from having a clear definition of "the neighborhood," we are confronted with several different definitions and much uncertainty and that we do not know what our particular respondents had in mind when they were answering the questionnaire. The picture we get from their answers is accordingly--and in contrast to the pictures for St. Peter's and Zion--rather confusing. (See TABLE 5--CHAPTER IV.)¹

¹Seventy-two per cent of the respondents live within ten blocks of the church, but only 30% of this group rate the neighborhood "a very nice place to live." (Fewer of those living further away do so.) Most respondents (59% of those living nearby, 60% of the total) rate the neighborhood a "fairly nice place to live." In my opinion, the section of small, older houses with gardens behind the church, where many members live, would rate, by that city's standards, "a very nice place to live." But perhaps the respondents are thinking of the not so nice parking lots and factory sites and warehouses below the hill, which look "rather poor." Or, they may be thinking of the towering public housing buildings which should rate well but which are inter-racial, thus becoming less "nice" in the eyes of some respondents. Or, they may be comparing the close neighborhood of St. John's with the elegant apartment houses and splendid homes on the hill opposite and so rate it only "fairly nice." Or, some of the respondents may have this in mind and others something else. Such a division of opinions and standards of comparison could explain the division of opinion on the question, "What is your impression as to what has been going on in your neighborhood over the last year?" Depending on where the respondents look, they can see changes for the better or for the worse or no changes at all.

A good rating of the neighborhood is, however, associated with a good rating of the congregation's job and vice versa, just as in St. Peter's and Zion (see TABLE 6--CHAPTER IV). Yet, in contrast to these two congregations, the opinion that the neighborhood is changing for the better is related quite closely to satisfaction with the congregation, and the opinion that it is changing for the worse with dissatisfaction. Just half of the satisfied and of the dissatisfied respondents say that the neighborhood has not been changing very much. It seems that change in the neighborhood is bothering the members of St. John's not only relatively more often than members of St. Peter's and Zion, but also as an issue connected with their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the congregation's job. Dissatisfied members tend to think the neighborhood is getting worse and they are more often aware of "neighborhood problems."¹ These findings may be linked to the one, mentioned in Chapter III, that some of the dissatisfaction with the pastor is based on the opinion that he is not active enough in community affairs.

The relatively low rating St. John's gets from its own members seems, then, to stem in part from the feeling that the congregation is making too ambitious plans, is getting too involved with the neighborhood and is in danger of changing its character, in part from the reverse feeling that the congregation is not dealing adequately with the problems of

¹The index of perception of "city problems" and "neighborhood problems" will be discussed in the next chapter.

the neighborhood, in part from dissatisfaction with the pastor for either reason, and in part from the knowledge of the existence of such internal frictions. But in St. John's dissatisfaction with the congregation's job has not created an explosive or desperate situation. As long as St. John's can go on undisturbed by outside influences, it is likely to go on with the conservatives and the activists balancing each other.

St. Matthew's and St. Luke's
Social Action versus Conseratism,
Pastors versus Lay Leaders

In St. Matthew's 22% of the respondents think that their problems are "more difficult" than those of other city congregations and in St. Luke's 34% think so. (See TABLE 2--CHAPTER IV.) These two congregations are thus considerably more troubled than the three we have just studied.

What these two congregations have further in common is that they both belong to the "dissatisfied" category and that their main problem is the relationship between the pastor and a rather well organized group of old and important members who are in opposition to him. They are unlike in many other respects, especially in the form the inner conflict has taken. In St. Matthew's it is the pastor, a relatively "new" pastor, who is reform-minded and neighborhood-oriented, while his opposition is conservative and, above all, does not want to spend large sums of money on bringing in undesirable new members from the neighborhood of the church. In St. Luke's it is the pietistic, shy pastor who represents conservatism and

a group of members under an activist leader who demand social and evangelistic programs.

In both cases satisfaction with the job the congregation is doing makes very little difference to the rating of the congregation's problems as "more difficult"; the dissatisfied respondents give, however, more "don't know" answers. The dissatisfied majorities are, as we have noted before and shall note again, divided into a group which is merely uninterested and participates little in the life of the church and another group, which we have called "true critics," who are much involved although not satisfied with the congregation's work.

In St. Matthew's the attitudes of the members towards the neighborhood of the church (where only 13% of them live) and their closely related attitudes towards the pastor's neighborhood program are the key to their satisfaction or dissatisfaction. In his interview, the pastor enumerates the following "principal problems" which the church has faced over the last five years:

Development of congregational sense of responsibility and concern. Badly deteriorated church plant. Incorporating non-whites into the church-life, especially the Sunday School. Highly transient population. Need of stronger lay leadership and participation.

And, "looking to the future, say the next five years," the pastor foresees the following major problems:

The redevelopment of the immediate area around the church building under public and private auspices will increase the population by 4,000 persons. Some of the private housing will include expensive 3 to 5 bedroom apartments. The congregation will have to integrate widely varying socio-economic groups (from very wealthy to low income groups).

To judge from the five interviews with members of St. Matthew's, the members see all this in terms of money. Each of the five brings this point up, some with a rare persistency: the budget is too big, people are pressured to pledge more than they can give, the staff is already larger than necessary and the pastor wants to enlarge it further, the redevelopment of the neighborhood will bring in more poor families and the old members will have to carry a still larger financial burden, etc. As one of the men interviewed says:

Some people say that the Pastor does not shake hands as much as the former pastor and that this has hurt our stewardship. The staff has grown a good deal and many of the congregation think that the staff is unnecessary. There is now pastor, organist, choir director, custodian, parish visitor, visiting pastor and the secretary. . . . There is not much being done right now to overcome the weaknesses of finance and stewardship.

It seems that many people are waiting, with mingled hope and apprehension, to see what the redevelopment of the church neighborhood will bring. At present, the neighborhood is so bad that not even the pastor will live there. Sixty per cent of the respondents say it is "a rather poor place to live," a condemnation which is only topped by the members of St. Mark's. There has, however, been a change for the better over the last year, 55% of the respondents say. (See TABLE 5--CHAPTER IV.) So everything may turn out all right. There is certainly no sense of crisis in St. Matthew's.

But dissatisfaction with the congregation's job is related to a low opinion of the neighborhood and a slow recognition of improvement. (See TABLE 6--CHAPTER IV.) As a higher

percentage of the dissatisfied respondents claim to go to church "at least 3 times a month" (58%) and it must therefore be assumed that they see the church neighborhood as much or more than their more satisfied fellow worshipers (who go to church a little less frequently), the division of opinion points to selective or distorted perception on the part of one or the other or both sides among the respondents.

St. Matthew's is the only "downtown church" among the seven cases. The largest proportion of respondents (65%) live more than 30 blocks away from the church, among them the old, important members. Their attitude towards the neighborhood of the church is negative. In the pastor's words, "The general concern of the laity for the local neighborhood is slight and gives little evidence of increasing." There are, moreover, four other Lutheran churches within the radius of one mile and this should create problems for the recruitment of new members; yet this does not show in the questionnaire answers. According to the figures of the self-study, St. Matthew's is growing, and a majority of 72% of the respondents thinks so too (see TABLE 3---CHAPTER IV). We find the expected difference of opinion on this point: those who are satisfied with the congregation's job more often say the congregation is gaining members (86%) than those who are not satisfied (65%).

On the question who deserves credit for recruiting these new members, the two groups are in unusual agreement, except over attributing credit to the pastor: 58% and 57% of those satisfied and dissatisfied with the congregation's job respectively say most new members are brought into the

church "by the efforts of the members of the congregation," 31% and 33% say "through special evangelistic program," but 38% of the satisfied and only 24% of the dissatisfied respondents say "by the personal effort of the pastor." Yet "good pastoral leadership" (probably meaning good sermons) is acknowledged as most responsible for the gain in membership (by 68% of the satisfied and 44% of the dissatisfied respondents) more than "a good church program" or any events in the neighborhood. Almost no loss in membership is attributed to anything. These results and the fact that there are scarcely any answers, positive or negative, to the question whether the 'newcomers' to the community are helping to make the congregation stronger or weaker indicate that our respondents do not associate what goes on in the neighborhood of the church building with the growth of the congregation.

The negative attitudes toward the neighborhood of St. Matthew's are sharpened by the racial question. According to the pastor, some Negro children have been brought into the Sunday School by church members, but few non-white adults have been brought into the church and none have joined the congregation so far. According to a report by the interviewer,

Some strong anti-Negro feeling was suggested, although in trying to probe further he [the interviewee] did not feel that this was a serious problem. There apparently are two strong factors on the racial question but as yet it has not come to a serious split in the congregation. . . . Apparently no one is willing to admit that racial integration might be a problem, so nothing is being done.

The survey does not show a numerically strong anti-integration faction. (See TABLE 4--CHAPTER IV.) Only 12% of the

respondents say "no" to integration, which puts St. Matthew's in the middle between the most and least anti-integration responses, St. Mark's, St. Peter's and Zion on the one hand, Trinity, St. John's and St. Luke's on the other. But it is likely that the opposition to integration in St. Matthew's is felt strongly by the pastor--and gives the impression of strength to some of the people interviewed--because it is concentrated among those who go to church relatively often and are dissatisfied with the congregation's job and with the pastor and may voice their various complaints rather strongly; this is especially likely among the older, better educated ones who are in the best position to complain.¹

The negative attitudes towards the pastor's neighborhood program among an important and indispensable group of members becomes thus clear enough from our data. The pastor has not succeeded in "developing the sense of responsibility and concern" for the neighborhood of the church among these members who, on the contrary, seem to form a solid opposition. The newer members who grumble about such "clannishness" cannot yet make their weight felt and, if the atmosphere present at the time of the study prevails, they are not likely to increase rapidly either in numbers or in importance.

¹Fourteen per cent of the older, better educated respondents and 14% of the younger, less educated respondents say "no" to integration. In St. Matthew's--in contrast to St. Peter's and St. Mark's--men are more often against integration than women, another factor which probably gives weight to anti-integration opinion.

St. Luke's gives the extreme case of dissatisfaction: only 10%, that is, 6 respondents out of 59, think the pastor as well as the congregation are doing their jobs very well; 68%, that is, 40 respondents, think neither the pastor nor the congregation is doing its job very well. Because of the small number of respondents in all but the doubly dissatisfied group, only a few comparisons with the other congregations are possible and these have been made mostly in Chapter II since the main problem of St. Luke's is its relation to its pastor and since this is also the matter on which we have the best information.

We may here add something about the problem of recruitment of new members, one of the main points of disagreement between the pastor and his opposition. When asked about the principal problems, the pastor says:

I do not have enough time to go and visit people, especially people who move into the neighborhood. We should have a young assistant pastor to do the visiting. Many old members of the congregation are moving away and we should reach the Lutherans who move into the neighborhood.

The leaders of the opposition to the pastor want to reach the neighborhood, especially the very big, middle to higher income housing project near-by, and not only the Lutherans in it.

The pastor thinks:

There are too big expectations in the congregation. They want attendance to double in a year and if it does not happen they are disappointed. It is the same with the council. They expect too big results too fast.

Willingness to take people from the neighborhood into the small, friendly family church for congenial people of similar national and economic background that St. Luke's is now is

encouraged by the positive attitudes of the members towards the neighborhood: 61% of them live there now, a third of respondents think it is "a very nice place to live," those who are satisfied with the congregation's job as well as those who are dissatisfied, and two-thirds of each group think the neighborhood has been changing for the better. In St. Luke's dissatisfaction is not related to a poor opinion of the neighborhood. (See TABLES 5 and 6--CHAPTER IV.) New members from the neighborhood should thus be considered generally acceptable.¹

The respondents are, however, more pessimistic than anybody else except the respondents of St. Mark's about recruitment of new members. (See TABLE 3--CHAPTER IV.) Thirty-two per cent think that, during the last five years, membership has been growing; 39% think it has just about been holding its own; 12% think it has been declining and 17% "don't know." Respondents are also much divided over this question: 67% (8 respondents) of the satisfied members believe the congregation has been growing; only 23% (11 respondents) of the dissatisfied respondents do. Due to the lack of record keeping in St. Luke's, we cannot decide who is right. We can, however, note that lack of recruitment is a reason for dissatisfaction.

About the same proportion of the respondents satisfied and dissatisfied with the congregation give the pastor credit

¹Racial attitudes play almost no part in this. Integration has not yet become an issue, not even remotely. Eighty per cent of the respondents say "yes," St. Luke's should accept into membership persons of all races, 11% say they "don't know" and only one respondent says "no." (See TABLE 4--CHAPTER IV.)

for bringing in "most of the new members" (33% and 30%), but the predictable difference appears on the next item: 33% (4 respondents) of the satisfied respondents credit the efforts of members of the congregation, while fully 62% (29 respondents) of the dissatisfied group do this. No other group in any of the congregations is so sure of the effect of its own efforts. Losses are attributed mostly to the fact that "old members have moved away."

In St. Luke's no sudden and disturbing changes in the environment have caused the large dissatisfaction shown by the respondents, but the realization that to go on as usual means slow decline. This realization has been thrust upon many members by the sometimes bitter controversy between the pastor and his activist opponents, that is, by events inside the congregation. In some respects, St. Luke's thus resembles St. John's more than St. Matthew's, where outside events play a greater part. St. John's too is undisturbed by outside events and yet largely dissatisfied with its performance. It has not, however, been brought to the realization that action is needed as much as St. Luke's has been. In the case of St. John's the social action party (here, the pastor) and the conservative party (here, a group of old members) have not clashed as they have in St. Luke's and thus have not drawn the attention of everybody else to the issue.

Trinity and St. Mark's Problems of Integration

Trinity and St. Mark's are the two congregations most conscious of having unusually difficult problems. Sixty-seven

per cent of the White respondents of Trinity say their problems are more difficult than those of other city congregations and 58% of the (practically all White) respondents of St. Mark's say so. (See TABLE 2--CHAPTER IV.)

In both cases the problem is racial integration.¹ But in highly "satisfied" Trinity integration has been successfully accomplished, while in highly "dissatisfied" St. Mark's the process has only just begun and has thrown the congregation into turmoil. In Trinity those White respondents who are satisfied with the congregation's job say "more difficult" more often than those who are dissatisfied, indicating the feeling that the bigger the problem is, the greater is their achievement. In St. Mark's, on the contrary, high problem-consciousness is related to dissatisfaction with the congregation's job; there is not the high rate of evasive "don't know" answers usual among dissatisfied respondents here.² (See TABLE 2a--

¹According to Voigt R. Cromer, Christian Action in Human Relations, New York, 1952, p. ii, about 21,000 Negroes are members of Lutheran congregations. (About nine-tenths of all Negro church members are either Baptists or Methodists according to Frank S. Loescher, The Protestant Church and the Negro, Philadelphia: Association Press, 1948, p. 22.) Since 1946 the United Lutheran Church of America and other Lutheran bodies have issued pronouncements urging "the practice of the principles of Christian brotherhood in dealing with peoples of other races, color, and nationalities." Such pronouncements by Lutheran bodies are "based on Scripture and speak to the Church. In the case of [other denominations], the scriptural basis is not always clearly presented nor the distinction between Church and secular communities clearly drawn," according to M. L. Stirewalt, Jr., "Observations on the Church and Segregation," Lutheran Quarterly, Vol. 9 (1957), pp. 254-259.

²Fifty-one per cent of the doubly satisfied respondents find the problems of St. Mark's "More difficult," but 66% of the doubly dissatisfied ones do. It is likely that the pastor is seen by those who disagree with his policy as an agent of trouble because of his insistence on integration.

CHAPTER IV.) For the White members of Trinity their highly publicized problems are actually a source of satisfaction since they are, in the main, overcome. For the members of St. Mark's, their problems are a source of anxiety, since they do not know what will happen.

To the Negro members of Trinity¹ things look entirely different. Many of them have joined after the worst controversy over integration was over. But this is hardly the whole reason why only 23% of them say the congregation's problems are "more difficult" than the problems of others. As will be shown in the next chapter, they also tend to rate difficulties in the neighborhood, especially racial tension, considerably lower than the White respondents. It is possible that to the Negro members a situation which no longer explodes in bomb-threats and stone throwing does not seem very bad. Or, maybe, the Negro members would not like to regard themselves as such a problem and believe or hope that integration has been accomplished really successfully. Thus, in answering the problem-question, they do not, perhaps look back to past troubles--as many White members seem to do--but to the problems which remain. This suggestion is supported by the fact that among the Negro respondents it is dissatisfaction which is related to a higher rate of "more difficult" answers and to a very much higher rate of evasive "don't know" answers. In contrast to the White members, the Negro respondents seem to think that

¹For a description of the Negro membership of Trinity, see pp. 175-176.

the better the congregation is doing its job, the fewer problems remain.¹

It is not just subjective thinking which leads the White members of Trinity to consider its problems so much greater than the Negro members do. In fact, the future of Trinity lies with its White members and whether they will stay or not.²

¹At the time of the study, St. Mark's had, according to the pastor, 23 Negro members, but only eight of them returned usable mail questionnaires. Since it is known that the Negroes in the neighborhood of St. Mark's are mostly Southern Negroes who have migrated to the (Northern) city recently, it may be assumed that their educational level is low and that, therefore, the questionnaire was too difficult for them. Or, perhaps, they did not feel fully established as members. It is of doubtful value to study them separately, but here are a few characteristics: two of the Negro respondents are men, six are women; six are under fifty, two over fifty years old; their education varies but is relatively high with five or them in the "better educated" category; four have been members for less than one year, two for one to two years, and two for three to five years. Participation is high: six of them go to church at least three times a month, two go once or twice a month; four belong to one or more organizations of the church; five hold some position in the church. Their personal religious satisfaction is high, for all eight say that their church membership is of "much" help to them "to know of God's love and care for me." All eight rate the pastor "very successful" in doing his job. It is, of course, the pastor who is fervently for racial integration of St. Mark's. The Negro respondents must be aware that not all members of the congregation share the pastor's attitude. Only two of them rate the congregation's job "very good," five rate it "fairly good," one does not know. About the problems of St. Mark's three of the Negro respondents say that they are "more difficult," three say "about the same," one says "less difficult," one does not know.

²At the time of the study Trinity had, according to the pastor, about one-third Negro members; according to our sample of respondents it had about one-half Negro members. Only adult members are considered. In Trinity as well as in St. Mark's large numbers of Negro children are enrolled in the Sunday School.

Identification of the Negro respondents was undertaken --in both congregations--by the staff of the church at the time the filled-in and returned mail questionnaires were checked off against a mailing list. It is possible that some

It is always a problem to keep up the buoyant spirit of a successful revolution. In his annual report for 1956, the year prior to the study, the pastor of Trinity tries to do this by invoking the spirit of the Olympics, emphasizing that Trinity is "not competing against other individuals or other churches," but that "our competition is against the kingdom of evil, within us and around us. In this struggle, we compete as a team and also as individuals." He also reminds his parishioners (referring to Hebrews 12:1, 2) "that there is a great cloud of living witnesses of what Trinity is trying to accomplish here."

The 1956 report shows that, although Trinity has been gaining in membership, quite a number of members have moved to other congregations, have dropped out or have become "inactive"--the report estimates 100 such inactive members, out of a membership list of almost 700. The turnover of members, noted before, seems to be going on still, though at a slower

errors occurred in the process.

Characteristics of respondents in Trinity:

	Negro Members	White Members	
Under 50 years old	49% (113)	51% (115)	100% (228)
Over 50 years old	64% (98)	36% (56)	100%
	20% (15)	80% (59)	100%
Short-term member	86% (108)	14% (18)	100%
Long-term member	3% (3)	97% (96)	100%
Low education	30% (20)	70% (46)	100%
High education	57% (92)	43% (69)	100%
Distance from church:			
Up to 10 blocks	83% (85)	17% (18)	100%
11 to 30 blocks	25% (17)	75% (52)	100%
More than 30 blocks	17% (9)	83% (45)	100%

rate. Recruitment of new members is thus vital. But should this recruitment be done only in the neighborhood of the church, Trinity would become, shortly, a Negro instead of an integrated congregation. Thus, Trinity has the special problem of recruiting new White members from farther away. In his interview, the pastor mentions the diminishing percentage of White members as a problem and adds that "some have said 'they'll stay as long as I am here,'" but his conclusion about the church's future is simply, "I don't know."

The immediate neighborhood of Trinity changed very rapidly and became about 90% Negro. Now, however, there is "a residential transition going on south of us. Change is not as abrupt as it was here." But it may mean that more and more of the White members will have to travel longer and longer distances to Trinity.¹ In four of the six interviews conducted in Trinity the question of the future of the congregation is brought up by the people interviewed. Two express the hope that it will remain interracial (one of them is the only Negro interviewed), but say that other people think it will, in time, become a Negro congregation. Two other people interviewed are sure of this. As a young councilman states:

There will be more and more Negroes, less and less White. And, one or two pastors from now, we will have a Negro pastor. What will happen when the present pastor leaves? The remaining White members of the church

¹Among the White respondents 18 (16% of them) have joined during the last five years, that is, since integration. Just as many also **still** live within 10 blocks of the church; the others live 11 to 30 blocks away (45%) or more than 30 blocks away (39%). Seventy-five per cent of the Negro members live within 10 blocks of the church.

are looking for a reason, an excuse, to leave and will find it when the present pastor leaves.

But, as yet, Trinity is doing well, not least financially --to the astonishment of other churches, fearful of integration, as a councilman relates. This is, however, not really surprising, since the new Negro members are almost all middle class or upper middle class and well able to support the church program, while the remaining White members are all dedicated to Trinity and therefore likely to give generously. The sound finances of Trinity and its contributions to various outside funds are a source of proud satisfaction.

The question about growth or loss of membership is--like the question about the relative size of the congregation's problems--one on which the Negro members do not agree with the White members (see TABLE 3--CHAPTER IV). Seventy-seven per cent of the Negro members and 37% of the White members say that the membership has been growing during the last five years. According to the pastor's annual report for 1956, which all our respondents could have read, Trinity has been "just about holding its own" (as 44% of the White members say), but has gained in membership during the last year (though it has not yet quite reached the figure of 1951 again). The impression of growth may, however, not be due to various degrees of euphoria alone. Many of those members who dropped out or were transferred may not have been seen around Trinity for some time before they went, while the newer members were much in evidence. The Negroes, especially, know that many of their friends and neighbors have joined, while they never personally

knew those who left the congregation.

We also find that 14% of all respondents, many more than admit a loss of members, check as a "reason for loss" a "change in the racial make-up of the neighborhood," while on the other hand 15% of all respondents check the same reason to explain gains in membership. Pride in the assumed growth of Trinity is a source of satisfaction to many more Negro than White members, but satisfied White members also think more often than dissatisfied ones that the congregation has been growing. Dissatisfaction among both Negro and White members is not related to the belief that Trinity has been losing members but only to doubts on this point.¹

In Trinity the racial change in the neighborhood happened so quickly that members felt "as if the rug were pulled from under us." Around St. Mark's the change has been under way for a long time. The pastor says that "25 years ago the neighborhood was almost completely Swedish and now it is at least 50% Negro," but it seems that--at least as far as the congregation of St. Mark's is concerned--the realization of the change is only now becoming inevitable, since the pastor's

¹Credit for bringing in most of the new members is given to "the personal efforts of the pastor" by 71% of the White members and by only 59% of the Negro members, 69% of whom, on the other hand, credit "the efforts of the members," only 37% of the White members do that. "Through the Church School" follows with 45% of the White and 34% of the Negro members giving it credit. We can see again here that Negro and White members have different views of the recruiting process. Among both groups, however, the respondents who are satisfied with the congregation's job check more different ways of how members are brought into the church.

firm stand for integration brought the problem from the neighborhood into the church.

In looking toward the future, the pastor mentions four problems that need to be faced and solved:

(1) An increased membership--a membership which reflects the community to a larger degree than the membership does at the present time. (2) An increased financial base--more solid and substantial and dependable financial base upon which increased ministry could be dedicated. (3) There are no anticipated building problems at the present time, however, in some respects the church does not have adequate facilities. (4) An increased staff.

Far from being able to tackle these problems St. Mark's is, at the time of the survey, in an acute crisis. As one worried long-time member puts it:

One of the things that bother me most is that we have been losing so many long-time members for one reason or another and while new members, while very, very desirable, do not and cannot take the place of members who have attended for so many years and have been thoroughly acquainted with church decorum, and it is a well-known fact that it takes the new members a certain time to become as effective in their church membership as the ones they have replaced.

Another long-time member, a woman, says it more bluntly:

People are lazy, they lack a sense of responsibility. The new people of the church, particularly the Negro women, are careless in their response to the opportunities of the church. . . . It is a question whether the congregation can continue as a self-supporting congregation in view of the fact that the size of the church membership remains quite static, and in view of the fact that the new members do not seem to have the same sense of stewardship. It is a lack of deeper understanding of the church and its right to lay heavy claims upon us.

Here lies the important difference between the situation in Trinity and St. Mark's: while the new Negro members of Trinity are able and willing to take over the financial and

to some degree even the administrative functions of the old members, the new members of St. Mark's, poor White or poor Negro, are neither able nor willing to do so. At Trinity, some of the councilmen interviewed worry about the best way to educate Negro members for positions of responsibility in the congregation, but there is no doubt that, given enough time, the new members will learn. In St. Mark's, people talk of the possibility that the church could become a mission, no longer self-supporting--something which seems to be viewed as a rather horrible disgrace.

According to the self-study, concluded several months later than the survey, St. Mark's has been losing members heavily. Though a considerable number of new members were received during the four years covered by the self-study, the net loss is about 20% of the earlier membership. The question about growth or loss of membership shows, however, that not all members are aware of this. (See TABLE 3--CHAPTER IV.) We have here a situation similar to that of Trinity, where long-term members know the many faces who are no longer to be seen, while the short-term members are impressed by the new faces turning up and the ceremonies at the reception of the new members. We also find in St. Mark's, as in Trinity, the association of dissatisfaction with the congregation's job and a pessimistic judgment of the situation. But St. Mark's is the only one of the seven cases in which a substantial proportion, that is 44%, say that the congregation is losing members. By contrast to the 1% to

5% in other cases, this proportion looks desperate.

St. Mark's also is the only congregation among the seven in which respondents clearly cite a cause for the loss of members "change in racial makeup of the neighborhood"; 54% of the respondents check this reason--47% of those satisfied and 57% of those dissatisfied with the congregation's job. The same reason is given for gain in membership by 22% of the respondents--28% of the satisfied and 20% of the dissatisfied ones. Thus, at least some respondents recognize that the Negro 'new-comers' replace departing old members. At the time of the study, however, only a small proportion of the new members were Negroes (23 adults, according to the pastor). Most of the new White members also came from the neighborhood to which they had moved only recently¹ but, obviously, the new Negro members are more "visible" to the old members. Also, the children in the Sunday School are now predominantly Negro.

The pastor gets all the praise or the blame for bringing in the new members. Sixty-seven per cent of the satisfied and 60% of the dissatisfied respondents say most of the new members are brought in by the pastor. The rating members give to their own efforts is the lowest in any of our seven cases (24% among the satisfied, 22% among the dissatisfied respondents). They do not like their new neighbors and they

¹Two hundred and twenty-two new members were received into the church in the four years prior to the survey according to the self-study. These new members are underrepresented among the respondents of whom only 24% or 50 persons are short-term members of five years standing or less. (Cf. TABLE 2--CHAPTER II.)

do not make any particular efforts to bring them into their church although they know that it is losing members. It is the pastor who is doing it.¹

Although the neighborhood of St. Mark's is, at the time of the study, only about half Negro, attitudes towards integration of Negroes are central to the problem of recruitment. It must be kept in mind that the Negroes moving into the area are poor, uneducated Southern immigrants. The neighborhood is showing signs of neglect and people interviewed say that it is no longer safe to go out in the evenings, to church meetings, for example. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the pastor reportedly left St. Mark's after his home had been burgled three times. There is no objective standard by which we can judge whether 31% of the respondents saying that the congregation should not accept into membership persons of all races is

¹The pastor of St. Mark's, who thinks that "a congregation is established not to build a church, but to redeem the community," would like to see an all-Lutheran policy set up concerning the transfer of members from one congregation to another and the acceptance of members who are transferring. The interviewer summarizes the discussion thus:

It is a question whether or not a pastor is right, whether he has the Christian right to accept a transfer of a family from a neighboring congregation when that family is leaving that congregation because of racial prejudice, misunderstanding, and an unwillingness to recognize the total community responsibility of the ministry of the congregation to which they had formerly belonged.

Here, for the first time, one of the pastors in the study mentions a problem which is "all-Lutheran," which does not involve only his own congregation and its environment. The pastor of St. Mark's wanted his colleagues to stand together against the prejudices of their parishioners, but he did not find any support, as he told me.

a high proportion or not. In un-integrated St. Peter's, which has far fewer Negroes in its neighborhood, the proportion is exactly the same. In all other cases it is much smaller. (See TABLE 4--CHAPTER IV.) Of course, in St. Mark's many anti-integrationists have already withdrawn from the congregation and are not covered by the survey, but the wonder is rather that so many still feel interested enough to fill out the questionnaire.¹

¹Respondents who say "no" to integration but still belong to integrated St. Mark's to the extent of answering the questionnaire are found more often among women (32%) than among men (28%), a finding, which contrasts to the facts in St. Peter's where women are less often pro-integration than men, but not more often anti-integration--just more often uncertain; in St. Matthew's women are more often pro-integration. In St. Mark's older people are more often uncertain than younger people and thus say less often "yes" and less often "no" than the younger people.

In practically all seven cases we find that the tendency of the better educated respondents is to be more favorable towards integration than the less educated respondents are. This tendency is pronounced in St. Mark's: 44% of those White respondents with grade school or some high school education say "Yes," 61% of those graduated from high school and 69% of those with a college education. The proportions of "No" answers show somewhat smaller differences because the less educated respondents also give more "Don't know" answers. The association of better education with greater racial (or political) tolerance is in accordance with numerous findings for national and other population samples.

The largest opposition group, 48% of those who say "No," live more than 30 blocks away from St. Mark's; they have separated themselves from the neighborhood. Those living at a distance of 11 to 30 blocks generally come closer to those living far away in their judgments. Of those who still live within 10 blocks from St. Mark's, 58%, that is 29 respondents, say they expect to move. Of these 29 respondents only 12 say "Yes" to integration, 15 say "No" and 2 say "Don't know." Expectations of moving from the racially mixed neighborhood of the church and opposition to integration of the congregation are thus related.

Anti-integrationists participate less in the life of the church than other respondents, but some of them are still fully involved; three even hold a position in the council or a committee.

The association between an anti-integration attitude and dissatisfaction with the congregation's job is evident. (See TABLE 4a--CHAPTER IV.) But half of those who rate the congregation unfavorably must have some other reason for their dissatisfaction--probably the fact that their fellow-members of St. Mark's resist what they think is right, namely, accepting into membership persons of all races.

As one would expect, respondents who say "no" to integration tend to be marginal members: they live more often far away, they go to church less often and belong less often to organizations--all characteristics which are also generally associated with dissatisfaction.

It would not make sense to examine in detail the ten respondents in Trinity who say "no" to integration. The question cannot measure the positive or negative shades or degrees of acceptance of integration which, no doubt, exist five years after integration has become a fact. Some additional information can be found in the answers to the following question: "How much help is your church membership to you . . . to understand people of different cultures and races?" Trinity as a whole has the highest rate of "much" answers among the seven churches and its generally more satisfied Negroes also check "much" more often, 67% of them as against 60% of the Whites. As before, we find that the difference between the satisfied and the dissatisfied Negroes is much smaller (71% as against 59%) than the difference between the satisfied and the dissatisfied Whites (77% as against 38%). For the 77% of the White members who are

satisfied with the congregation's job (52 respondents) understanding people "of different cultures and races" may be a real source of satisfaction--especially since these people are so unlike the stereotypes of their race.

In their attitudes toward the neighborhood of their respective churches, the members of St. Mark's and Trinity contrast again: the former give the neighborhood the worst rating of any (67% of the respondents of St. Mark's say it is "a rather poor place to live"), the Negro respondents of Trinity are enthusiastic (90% say "a very nice place to live") and the White members are ambivalent (57% of them find the same neighborhood "a very nice place"). (See TABLE 5--CHAPTER IV.)

The ambivalence of the White members of Trinity is more clearly expressed in their answers to the question, "What has been going on in your neighborhood over the last year?" As only 16% of the White members live within 10 blocks of Trinity their answers are, naturally enough, more related to their feelings than to facts. We thus find that of those White respondents who are dissatisfied with the congregation's job 40% say that "over the last year" the neighborhood has been changing "for the worse," while an equal proportion of the satisfied respondents think it has not been changing very much.¹

¹It was difficult for White respondents to answer these questions, not only because so few of them live there, but also because houses which, by themselves, may be "very nice to live in," may not be so "nice" for Whites if no other White families live anywhere near.

Among Negro respondents, 75% of whom live there, the division of opinion between satisfied and dissatisfied respondents is over whether the neighborhood has changed for the better or not changed very much. Among Whites as well as Negroes, attitudes towards the neighborhood are related to satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the congregation's job, as we have found them to be in St. Peter's, Zion and St. John's. The same is true for St. Mark's. (See TABLE 6--CHAPTER IV.)

But in St. Mark's, as stated before, the view of the neighborhood is most gloomy; even among those who are satisfied with the congregation's job, 53% say it is "a rather poor place to live" and 67% say it has been changing for the worse over the last year (76% of the dissatisfied majority say so). Awareness of problems in the neighborhood and the city is also stronger among the dissatisfied respondents of St. Mark's, as is general problem awareness. Respondents who are dissatisfied with the congregation's job in general think less of what it is doing on specific problems; yet the proportions of such respondents who nevertheless give St. Mark's credit for doing a very good job about specific problems are not negligible. Some members seem to recognize the congregation's efforts in the field of race relations without being satisfied with its overall performance.

But, whatever the efforts of St. Mark's, the task must seem just too big to many of its members. Practically everybody says that "over the last five years, there has been a change in the kind of people living in the neighborhood of the church," and the majority, 54%, say "the 'newcomers' are

helping to make the neighborhood worse." (This is far above the next "worse" judgment which comes from St. John's with 24%!) Most of those respondents who do not want to judge the 'newcomers' say "Don't know," or do not answer at all. Judgment of the 'newcomers' is related to the judgment of the congregation's job, but not closely. The dark view of the 'newcomers' is shared by considerable proportions of the satisfied respondents:

St. Mark's

Rate congregation's job:

"Very good" Not "very good"

'Newcomers' to the community
are helping to make the
neighborhood worse

48% (28)

58% (86)

'Newcomers' to the community
are helping to make the
congregation weaker

40% (23)

48% (71)

But they seem to think that the congregation is doing what it can in the face of such difficult circumstances; as one old and active member says,

We have honestly tried to do a real missionary work here by integration, realizing that our real responsibility is to make our church accessible to all people.

The dissatisfied respondents are divided into those who think the congregation is not doing a good enough job and those (a third to a half of the dissatisfied majority) who think the congregation should never have undertaken the task of integration. Thus the contrast to highly satisfied Trinity is not only in the proportions of members who think their congregation is doing a very good job (64% in Trinity and 28% in St. Mark's), but even more in the related pessimistic views

of the neighborhood and what is happening to it and in the large opposition to the integration policy.

In Trinity, satisfaction with the congregation's job is associated, among the White members, with pride in great problems overcome, in the achievement of financial stability and stability or growth of membership. Satisfaction is also associated with a positive attitude towards integration which goes beyond the expression of what is thought to be right, that is, satisfaction is closely associated with the feeling that church membership helps in understanding people of different cultures and races. Dissatisfaction among White members, on the other hand, can be related to doubts about the growth or stability of membership, to relatively negative attitudes about the neighborhood and quite negative opinions about the changes in the neighborhood, together with very small gains in understanding the new, racially different members. The differences between the satisfied and the dissatisfied White members are considerably larger than those among the satisfied and dissatisfied Negro members. For the latter, satisfaction with the congregation's job is mainly related to their pleasure in their houses, in the neighborhood and the progress it is making, and further to their belief that their congregation is growing. They are altogether very much satisfied (70% of them say the congregation is doing a very good job as against 59% of the White members.

In St. Mark's, the widespread dissatisfaction with the congregation's job seems to have two contrasting sources.

First, dissatisfaction is clearly related to a very low opinion of the neighborhood and great pessimism about what is happening now in the neighborhood, especially about the people moving into it. Dissatisfaction is further related to problem consciousness, concerning the congregation's problems in general as well as specific problems of the city and neighborhood, and also to an awareness of the decline in membership. Satisfaction with the congregation's job, on the other hand, is related to a less pessimistic view of the membership situation; but recruitment of new members is credited to the pastor's efforts, not to those of the congregation itself. As is already clear from the relationship between dissatisfaction and negative attitudes towards the neighborhood and the people moving in, a good deal of the dissatisfaction with the congregation centers around anti-integration feelings and opposition to the policy of racial integration established in St. Mark's at the insistence of the pastor. A second reason for dissatisfaction seems, however, to lie in these very attitudes. Those respondents who do not share them but are, on the contrary, convinced that St. Mark's must integrate further and do its job in the neighborhood are dissatisfied with the inadequate performance of the congregation. These respondents are likely to be among the 23% of the congregation who rate the pastor's, but not the congregation's, job highly.

Part of the striking contrast between Trinity and St. Mark's is explained by the difference in ability of the two pastors, part by the fact that the situation in Trinity has

had time to stabilize itself. Yet the key to the success of the one and the crisis of the other church is to be found in the difference between the class levels of the new Negro members. In Trinity they are younger, better educated and of a higher occupational level than the White members. The fortunate consequences of all this for the finances of the church have been pointed out. In contrast, St. Mark's takes in Negro members of low socio-economic status, low education, recently immigrated from the South, often unable to cope with their new environment and unaccustomed to take on responsibilities voluntarily.

From looking at the relevant literature put out by the denominations and from listening to discussions at various meetings, one gains the impression that class differences such as those between the Negro members of Trinity and of St. Mark's are usually overlooked. Thus, possibilities of successful integration may be lost. In speaking of "Negroes" as if they were all the same kind of people, one may be following, unconsciously, the habits of the prejudiced, or one may be consciously trying to avoid making class distinctions. But the success of Trinity has obviously something to do with the class of its Negro members--even though there is no sign of awareness of the fact among the White members who were interviewed. Yet it is difficult to maintain stereotyped notions about Negroes when a cluster of lovely young women with beautiful flowered hats turns up, redolent of the very best perfumes and displaying the very best manners--and equally difficult when substantial businessmen eagerly take up duties

in the organizations or committees of the church. According to the White councilmen of Trinity who were interviewed, the new councilmen still have to be taught how to administer the church, but there does not seem to be any doubt about their willingness and their abilities.

Characteristics of Respondents who are Satisfied
with the Congregation's Job

Having studied opinions and attitudes, which are related to satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the congregation's job, we now turn to the personal characteristics of satisfied and dissatisfied respondents.

In the seven churches studied, two variables regularly make some difference in the rating given by respondents to the job the congregation is doing: age and education. In all cases the people over 50 years say "very good job" more often than the younger people, and the less educated, those with grade school or some high school, say "very good job" more often than the better educated.¹ (See TABLE 7--CHAPTER IV.) As, however, age and education are not independent of each other--the older the respondent, the less likely he is to have much formal education--these two variables will be considered in conjunction.

There is another variable related to age which also

¹Throughout this analysis, level of education is used also as an indicator of socio-economic level. The questions asking for family income, social class and occupation have drawn so many "no answers," "don't know's" and double checks that their usefulness is quite limited.

influences satisfaction: length of membership. As has been pointed out in the preceding chapter, the meaning of length of membership for the rate of satisfaction can be seen only in relation to the length of the pastor's service in any particular congregation. All pastors, except those of St. Peter's and St. Luke's, have served their congregations for only a short time. This influences not only the relationship between the rates of satisfaction with the pastor of long-term and short-term members, but sometimes also the rates of satisfaction with the congregation. Only in the case of St. Peter's can we see an uninterrupted, happy development of the relationship between the pastor and the congregation. In St. Peter's satisfaction with the pastor and with the congregation increases with age and length of membership.

In Trinity the level of satisfaction among the Negro members is considerably higher than among the Whites (70% as against 59%). This is the more remarkable in that the Negro members are largely composed of younger, better educated people (87% of them are under 50 years, 82% have graduated from high school or better as against 48% and 59% respectively among the Whites). Relatively lower age and higher education are associated without exception among our cases with a lower rating of the congregation's job. This is still true for the Negro members of Trinity studied by themselves, but their generally high satisfaction blurs the differences if all respondents of Trinity are considered together. (See TABLE 7a.)

In Zion the older, less educated people are most often

satisfied with the congregation's job, followed by the older, better educated people. As respondents over 50 years old form a majority of 55% in Zion, they determine the climate of opinion in this congregation. At the same time, the younger members on both educational levels are markedly less satisfied, especially with the congregation's job and the younger, better educated people are least satisfied--a fact which may be read as a danger signal for the future of this congregation. If age is held constant, length of membership makes hardly any difference for the rates of satisfaction with the congregation in Zion.

In St. Matthew's neither education nor length of membership makes much difference in judging the congregation's performance--though length of membership was important for the rating of the pastor. Now age is important: the older members are satisfied with what the congregation is doing, especially if they have only a lower education.

The same can be said of St. Mark's. And also that the opposition to the pastor (which, in the case of St. Matthew's comes chiefly from the older, long-term members, but in the case of St. Mark's from the younger, long-term members) is not fully carried over into the rating of the congregation's job.

St. John's is a special case because the younger people, those with low education and with a short-term membership are by far the most often satisfied with the congregation's job in this generally dissatisfied congregation. We have noted

in the preceding chapter that the pastor's support comes from this same group. It includes in St. John's an unusually high proportion of respondents up to 19 years old who may yet acquire more education. But those respondents under 50 years who already have a higher education as well as those over 50 with a better education think remarkably little of what the congregation is doing.

St. Luke's, which shows a somewhat greater satisfaction with the congregation among older members--who run the congregation--provides too few cases to merit consideration.

We may conclude, then, that education tends to make people, especially younger people, more critical of their congregation's job and that age makes them more satisfied--with the exception of St. John's, where the younger, though only the younger and less educated, respondents are more satisfied. We may further say that length of membership may or may not make a difference, depending on the length of the pastor's service and on whether or not he has been accepted by all groups in his congregation. And, finally, we may say that the general level of satisfaction in the congregation, its climate of opinion, seems to make a difference: in two out of the three "satisfied" congregations (St. Peter's and Trinity), education does not lead to a more critical attitude among the older respondents. The fact that the combination of age with higher education also favors satisfaction with the pastor in all three "satisfied" congregations, may, just possibly, mean that in these cases most things are organized

to suit a group of older, substantial members.

But, whether this is true or not, people over fifty cannot, on the whole, be expected to embrace novel ideas or to be eager for changes in an institution which works to their satisfaction. The question is, then: With what are the younger people and especially the younger educated people dissatisfied? We have studied that question in the first part of this chapter without coming to a conclusive answer. Since the questionnaire contains no direct question as to what respondents think the congregation's job ought to be, a conclusive answer is impossible.

A factor which one would expect to influence all attitudes and opinions concerning the congregation is the distance at which the respondent lives from the church. In Chapter II it was shown that our seven cases differ widely with respect to the proximity of their members' homes. The true neighborhood congregation is not necessarily satisfied with itself and the dispersed membership not necessarily dissatisfied. If we compare the proportions of people who are satisfied with the job the congregation is doing and who live at three varying distances from the church (up to 10 blocks, 11 to 30 blocks, more than 30 blocks), we find that distance sometimes does and sometimes does not make a difference. (See TABLE 7--CHAPTER IV.)

In only two cases (Trinity and St. John's) do we find that the farther they live away, the less they are satisfied. In Trinity this is simply due to the fact that the new Negro

members live nearby and the older White members, some of whom are dissatisfied, live further away. In all the other cases, there is no straight progression: the middle-distance group (11 to 30 blocks away) rates the congregation highest or lowest (St. Mark's) and, anyway, the differences are small.¹

One might assume also that, in general, distance from church does not affect how people rate the job the congregation is doing. Or, more likely, there may be intervening variables like the age and the socio-economic and educational level of those who have moved away which counteract the influence of distance. In short, with the size of our samples and the information we have, the relationship between distance from church and satisfaction with the congregation's job cannot be made clear. But where distance clearly other variables, it has been mentioned.

Participation in the Life of the Church and Satisfaction with the Congregation's Job

We have measures of three kinds of participation in the life of the church. The first is to be called "active

¹For this finding I offer an explanation which, however, cannot be proved with the data at hand. It is likely that the dissatisfied members who live at a distance from the church are under-represented among our respondents. While those dissatisfied members who still live in the neighborhood retain a certain interest in the congregation, those who have moved away are likely to lose contact, to come back but rarely, to go to another church. (Transference of members does not seem to function very well since many people shy away from this quasi-official disavowal of their old congregation.) Thus we may have in our sample not just a selection of relatively interested or involved members, but--at least in some of our cases --a selection stratified by distance from the church.

participation" and includes frequency of church-going, membership in one or more church organizations and holding of some responsible position in the congregation. The second indicates a feeling of involvement in the whole life of the church as best expressed by the questionnaire item asking whether or not respondents feel they have "a voice in shaping the policy and program of the congregation."¹ The third is a measure of "social integration," showing the proportions of respondents who have "four or five of their five closest friends" among the other members of their congregation. In general, all of these measures of participation are related to satisfaction with the congregation. We must, however, keep in mind that rates of participation vary a good deal as between congregations, partly because of varying size, but also partly because morale is high in some and low in other churches. (See TABLE 4--CHAPTER II and TABLE 8--CHAPTER IV.)

St. Peter's is by far the largest church among the seven. It is also the one most satisfied with its pastor and with its own job. But, although almost half of the respondents live within ten blocks of the church, frequency of church-going is the lowest among the seven cases and other measures show also a relatively low level of involvement. The relatively small groups who hold responsible office or belong to one or more church organizations do so without regard to

¹A number of similar questions has been analyzed and found not to contribute anything new or different from the question mentioned. Therefore, they are used only as supplementary evidence.

satisfaction with the congregation's job. But frequency of attendance at Sunday services is related to what respondents think of the congregation. So are questions about the inner workings of the congregation: those who are dissatisfied with what the congregation is doing say more often than the satisfied that they "don't know" whether they have "a voice" in the congregation, whether it is run "democratically," whether members "get along very well," or even whether they approve of changes made in the program. That these dissatisfied respondents are just not "in" is shown further by the fact that only 22% of them have four or five close friends among the members, while 41% of the satisfied respondents have that many. (See TABLE 8--CHAPTER IV.)

In Trinity participation is generally high. It has successfully integrated one-third to one-half Negro members (for details, see above, pp. 174-177), and we may assume that at the time of integration, with its large turnover of membership, most of the lukewarm members have left--those who in other congregations are carried on the church's list year after year. Attendance at Sunday services three times a month is particularly high, for Negroes (67%) as well as Whites (70%) although the latter practically never live in the neighborhood. Participation in church organizations and the proportion of respondents who hold responsible positions are also very high in Trinity. All three kinds of active participation are, however, more frequent among respondents who are satisfied with the congregation than among those dissatisfied--though even the dissatisfied members of Trinity

participate more actively in the life of their church than satisfied members in some of the other congregations do. Negro and White members who are satisfied with the congregation participate in about equal proportions. But, while Negro members who are dissatisfied with what the congregation is doing still participate highly, rates of participation fall off among the dissatisfied White members. It seems that even those Negro members who do not think the congregation is doing "a very good job" are closely bound to Trinity and thinking of future improvements rather than of criticism of past actions and policy.

Trinity also has the highest overall rate of respondents feeling they "have a voice" in the congregation (53%). Here again, the respondents satisfied with the congregation give far more positive answers than those who are dissatisfied and, again, satisfied Negro and White members rate almost the same, while dissatisfied Negro members rate considerably higher than dissatisfied White members. There are thus in Trinity, even after the changeover to a racially integrated congregation has been successfully accomplished, White members who not only express dissatisfaction with the congregation but are also withdrawing from active and emotional participation. One would like to know whether they are remnants of the old order or rather people who tried the new order in good faith and found it incompatible with their tastes. This, however, we cannot ascertain.

Trinity has a low rate (22%) of people who have four or five close friends in the congregation--not surprising after

such a large turnover of membership. There is little difference on this point between satisfied and dissatisfied and Negro and White members.

Zion, the third of the "satisfied" congregations, has rates of active participation somewhere between the high level of Trinity and the low level of St. Peter's. The proportion of people who feel they have "a voice" in Zion is, however, the lowest of the three congregations, while social integration is intermediate between the high level of St. Peter's and the low of Trinity. Differences between respondents who are satisfied with the congregation and those who are dissatisfied are all in the expected direction: the satisfied members participate more in every way and are also more socially integrated.

But, as in the other two congregations, there is in Zion a group of 'true critics,' respondents who are dissatisfied with the job of the congregation but nevertheless participate fully. Clues to their dissatisfaction can be found in various places. On the question, "In conducting the business of the congregation, how well do the members get along together?" only 29% of the dissatisfied group say "very well" as against 70% of the satisfied group and fully 26% of them say "fairly" or "poorly," as against 9% of the satisfied members. Thus, there seems to be a minority party within the congregation who would like to change its policy. We know that dissatisfaction with the congregation is greatest among the younger members. An additional factor is that the satisfied, dominating, older members tend to live further away from the

church, and so are likely to have even less interest in new programs involving the neighborhood of the church than the conservatism of middle age would lead them to have anyway. New recruits, however, will hardly come from anywhere but regions near the church. This may be on the minds of the active, dissatisfied 'true critics.'

Perhaps the obvious should be stated, namely, that not all of the satisfied respondents in the three "satisfied" congregations participate highly. The sub-group of negligent or indifferent satisfied respondents is biggest in large, complacent St. Peter's, smallest in tight, proud Trinity, in between in contented Zion.

In contrast, in some of the "dissatisfied" congregations the dissatisfied respondents show greater active participation than the satisfied minority. Especially in St. Matthew's, those who are dissatisfied with the congregation go to church more often, belong more often to church organizations and more often hold responsible positions. In St. John's and St. Luke's a higher proportion of those dissatisfied with the congregation hold positions, while there is little difference between the satisfied and the dissatisfied respondents in the matter of belonging to church organizations, and frequency of church-going is associated with a favorable rating of the congregation. The facts which are expressed in these associations are, in all three "dissatisfied" congregations, bad relations between the pastor and a group of well established, leading church members. The group which is dissatisfied with the congregation's job is thus divided into two sub-groups: those

who are satisfied with the pastor and those who are not, the latter representing long-term members who keep up their active participation in spite of their present dissatisfaction--probably with the intention of changing things to suit themselves--the first agreeing with the pastor that it is the congregation's and not his fault if things are not satisfactory. This situation is most pronounced in St. Matthew's (see table below), but it occurs also in St. Luke's and St. John's.

St. Matthew's:

Those satisfied with the pastor participate less; those dissatisfied with pastor and congregation participate most.

	Rate congregation's job:			
	"Very good"		Not "very good"	
	Rate pastor's job:		Rate pastor's job:	
	High	Low	High	Low
Attend services at least 3 times a month	55%	57%	51%	63%
Belong to 1 or more church organizations	42%	48%	44%	59%
Hold a responsible position	24%	28%	25%	33%

We have seen in the first part of this chapter that dissatisfaction with the congregation's job may mean that, in the respondents' view, the congregation is not supporting the pastor's policy strongly enough, or is going too far with him. The policies of the pastors of St. Matthew's, St. John's and St. Luke's are different, but they all cause dissatisfaction with the congregation's work for opposing reasons (always in addition to the dissatisfaction of the barely participating, marginal members).

In dissatisfied St. Mark's such old, established, active but dissatisfied members are no longer there in sufficient numbers to upset the expected pattern of a positive relationship between satisfaction with the congregation's job and participation through church going, belonging to organizations and holding positions.

The association between satisfaction with the congregation and the feeling of having "a voice" in the congregation is low in St. Matthew's and St. Luke's, negative in St. John's and high and positive in St. Mark's. In St. Mark's a relatively small proportion of members (32%) say they have "a voice" in the congregation. The proportion among the group satisfied with the congregation is 47%, among the dissatisfied group 27%. Satisfaction with the congregation's job is, in St. Mark's, an issue which divides respondents more clearly into two types than it does in the other three "dissatisfied" congregations. The reason for this is that in St. Mark's one problem, racial integration, focusses all attention upon itself and members divide over this one problem.

A study of social integration or close friendships within the "dissatisfied" congregations does not add much to what has been said above. Rates of social integration are, however, higher among the dissatisfied respondents of these four congregations than they are among the dissatisfied respondents of the three "satisfied" congregations--although the overall rates in the congregation show no such division. This is, first, another instance of the finding that the dissatisfied respondents in the "satisfied" congregations are rather

marginal members and further divorced from the satisfied members than their counterparts are in the "dissatisfied" congregations. Second, it provides a reason why some of the dissatisfied members stay on. In St. John's the highest proportion of "four or five close friends" (30%) is found among those who are dissatisfied with pastor and congregation. In St. Mark's, 30% of those dissatisfied with the congregation's job have four or five close friends in the congregation, but here, it seems, social integration is more often one of the few discernible reasons for satisfaction: in St. Mark's we find the highest rate of social integration of all congregations among the satisfied respondents, 48% of whom have four or five close friends there.

Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction with the Congregation's Job in Seven Cases

Conclusion

In this chapter we have compared the judgments congregations make of their own effectiveness if asked about it in a very general manner. We have studied demographic characteristics and attitude and behavior patterns of respondents who declare themselves either satisfied or dissatisfied with the congregation's job. And we have tried to find out what respondents have in mind when they give positive or negative answers. This aim could be pursued only indirectly as the questionnaire does not ask the respondents what they consider the congregation's job to be. But by elimination of some

factors and by inference some light has been shed on the criteria used by the respondents for judging the general effectiveness of their congregations.

The first point to note is that these criteria are by no means the same in all seven churches, or for all respondents. On the contrary, the uncertainty about what the job of the congregation is and the variety of interpretations given to "the job" are among the main findings.

The second point we noted in trying to find the determinants of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the congregation's job was the close association of these ratings with the ratings of the pastor's job. For many respondents pastor and congregation seem to be almost the same thing. A substantial minority of the respondents in every congregation (from one-fifth to one-third in the seven cases) however, must be aware of the difference between the questions on the pastor's job and the congregation's job because they give differing answers. In all congregations (except in St. Luke's) considerably more respondents rate the pastor "very successful" than rate the congregation's job "very good."

The third noteworthy point is that the internal problems of the congregations--that is, the relationship between the pastor and the members or groups of members and between groups of members--are either aggravated or created by external problems. Dissatisfaction with the pastor because he is an uninspired preacher, conducts services on high church principles, or talks of expanding the membership and activities of the church, as is the case in St. John's, does not by itself

create a crisis situation. Such dissatisfaction does create one, however, if the conditions in the neighborhood of the church demand action, or are thought to demand action, by either the pastor and his followers (as in the case of St. Matthew's), or by an active group of members in opposition to the pastor (as in the case of St. Luke's). If the church has no serious internal problems, external problems can be largely ignored or left to the future to be solved (as we see in St. Peter's).

It is in the problem of holding old and getting new members that the internal and external problems of the congregation meet. All churches in the inner city have this problem in common: old members continuously move away from the church neighborhood and, sooner or later, leave the church too, while the people who take their place in the neighborhood are almost never of the same ethnic, socio-economic and denominational background. If the church wants to stay in its old neighborhood, it has to decide what kinds of new members it is willing to take in and by what means it will try to recruit them. Over these decisions we find some congregations split into groups satisfied and dissatisfied with the policy pursued.

Satisfaction with the congregation's job is always associated with a belief that the membership is growing--even where this is actually untrue (as, for example, in Trinity and St. John's). A growing membership is something about which satisfied respondents are satisfied, but a stagnant membership is not something that worries many dissatisfied respondents--though it worries most pastors and most of those councilmen

who were interviewed. In two congregations, however, St. Luke's and St. Mark's, recruitment of members is a real problem for the majority of respondents, and loss of old members on the one hand and lack of sufficient new members to replace them on the other one are reasons for dissatisfaction.

In St. Mark's the issue of recruitment is complicated and aggravated by the fact that some of the new members of the church **has** taken in are not welcome to some of the old members. The new Negro members are viewed with plain race prejudice by about a third of the respondents, and on the level of those responsible for the running of the church we find worries over the financial future of the church and the replacement of leadership because of the low educational and economic position of the Negroes in the neighborhood. Once the problem of racial integration has been forced upon a congregation by changes in its neighborhood, it intrudes in practically every other problem. Where the mere possibility of integration is being discussed--and that is the case in all congregations except St. Luke's--its importance overshadows all other problems originating in the social environment of the church. Only the relationship between the pastor and his congregation is of equal importance. The constellation of these two crucial problems, integration and pastor-congregation relationship, determines the fortunes of two of the churches (Trinity and St. Mark's). Where integration is, as yet, only a possibility, the pastor-congregation relationship is the most important problem.

Racial tolerance is, on the whole, the accepted norm

among the respondents. But tolerance may be a passive attitude and does not necessarily imply that the pastor and the evangelizing committee should go out and try to recruit Negro members from the neighborhood for the church. How the knowledge of what is "right" is translated into behavior seems to depend chiefly on the pastor and on the quality of the newcomers. The well educated, well-to-do Negroes who are successfully integrated into Trinity are not the same kind of people as the recent immigrants from the South to the neighborhood of St. Mark's. It makes no sense to equate one case of racial integration with the other or the satisfaction with the congregation's action in Trinity with whatever satisfaction is to be found in St. Mark's. The former is satisfaction with a job well done, the latter recognition that the congregation is doing what is right. People in St. Mark's feel their congregation is "weakened" by the newcomers. Dissatisfaction with the congregation's job thus means for the anti-integrationists that integration should never have been undertaken, but for those who accept integration as the right thing to do dissatisfaction may arise from the feeling that the new members are not assimilated quickly and thoroughly enough.

The race problem makes all other neighborhood problems more salient and attitudes towards the neighborhood more pronounced. But satisfaction with the congregation's job is related to positive views of the neighborhood in all cases. Neither this association nor the converse one can be explained from the survey data. It may be suggested that they stem from an underlying optimistic or pessimistic mood, but it

seems inescapable that the image of a church situated in a ghastly slum suffers from the association.

In spite of the association between satisfaction with the congregation's job and positive attitudes towards the neighborhood, the evidence indicates that only small and select groups of respondents see the congregation's overall job in terms of tasks to be undertaken for the betterment of the neighborhood. The evidence is indirect because the questionnaire does not ask whether or not the respondents feel the congregation ought to concern itself with particular external problems. But the discrepancies between judgments of the congregation's overall job and of its action on specific jobs enumerated in the questionnaire show that it is not these neighborhood problems--with the exception of the race problem --which provide the chief measure by which the respondents judge their congregation's performance. More will be said about this in the next chapter.

External problems become important for the judgment of the congregation's job through the efforts of a faction in the congregation to form a policy concerning these problems. This faction may consist of the pastor and his supporters or of a group of active laymen (as in St. Luke's). In any case those who want to institute new policies have to fight inertia as well as considered conservatism.

Demographic characteristics throw some light on the composition of such factions within one congregation. It is generally recognized that an unbalanced age composition, especially too many old people, is dangerous for the existence

of congregations. The case of Zion, where 55% of the respondents are over 50 years old, also shows that the younger people in such a congregation may be pushed into a minority position, resent it and become dissatisfied, thus increasing the danger of unbalancing the age composition of the congregation further.¹

Even without an imbalance in the age composition of the congregation, certain attitudes may be concentrated in different age groups and thus opposing views of the congregation's problems, or of the congregation itself, or of the pastor may be seen as conflicts between generations. It was found that the younger respondents are, in general, more often critical and dissatisfied with the congregation's job. The conflict is, however, not always the simple one of conservatism against reformism of the social action kind. In Zion, for example, the younger, especially the younger, better educated people are most frequently against racial integration. Allegiance of certain age groups to young or old pastors and the allegiance of short-term or long-term members--among whom younger or older people predominate--to new or long-term pastors are also intervening factors.

Education tends to make respondents more critical of the congregation's job and, in general, more interested in the specific problems of the neighborhood; it also makes them,

¹A different, though related, problem seems to be present in most or all of the congregations: they lose many of the young people ("about half of them" one of the pastor says), who have been to Sunday School in the church, after confirmation because the adult members do not make them feel welcome or encourage them to participate in the adult organizations. This problem would merit special investigation.

in general, more willing to take in persons of another race, at least in theory. But we do not find indications in the interviews that education and concomitant socio-economic status are a basis for the formation of factions within any of the seven congregations--while many references to age-based factions are found in the interviews. The survey data uphold this impression.¹

What can be found, however, in some congregations are oligarchies of older, mostly long-term, educated and--presumably--well-to-do members who are essential for the functioning of the congregation because they provide both leadership as councilmen or officers of organizations and financial support for the congregation's program. Obviously, no program, no new neighborhood policy for instance, can be developed without their active cooperation. In the three "satisfied" congregations, the pastors have secured this cooperation for their present programs. In the "dissatisfied" congregations this is not the case.

The association between satisfaction with the congregation's job and various forms of participation in the life of the church has been studied in detail. Obviously, high participation may be the cause as well as the effect of satisfaction

¹Various efforts to determine whether class or socio-economic status has something to do with the congregations' orientation towards social effectiveness have led to nothing. This is not surprising since Lutheran churches were normally founded on a national basis and a common or similar national background is still an integrating factor. In keeping with the status of Scandinavian and German groups in American society, the Lutheran churches--including our seven cases--are overwhelmingly lower-middle class and middle-middle class.

and low participation may be the cause as well as the effect of dissatisfaction. Just as obviously, neither fact explains the other one fully. There are respondents who participate little, know nothing about the affairs of the church and are quite satisfied with things as they are. And there are the 'true critics,' respondents who participate actively in the congregation's affairs and have opinions about them but are dissatisfied with the congregation's performance. Their reasons for dissatisfaction are, roughly speaking of two opposite kinds: they want either a more conservative or they want a more active program. In some churches, as in St. Matthew's and St. John's, there are indications that both kinds of critics exist. In other churches, where a strong active policy has been instituted--as in Trinity and St. Mark's--there is room for only one kind of opposition, the conservative kind. In St. Luke's, where no policy at all exists, there is also only one kind of opposition: the action oriented kind.

The search for the reasons which make people satisfied or dissatisfied with the congregation's job has produced the result that there are no clear, general reasons of fact--at least none revealed by the survey. A number of factors can, however, be shown to be partly associated with satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The vagueness and ambiguity of the survey question has met with vague and ambiguous answers from the respondents. But this much can be said: issues or goals of church policy do not determine the satisfaction of a congregation with its own job. Satisfaction can come as well

from a spectacular achievement in planned social change (the case of racial integration in Trinity) as from the quiet performance of the traditional role of the church. Satisfaction or dissatisfaction becomes associated with church policies, with conflicts over these policies or conflicts between generations or special interests. Through such associations vague and general feelings become articulate. On the whole, however, satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the congregation's job is a mood, a diffuse feeling, based on a liking for the pastor, a generally positive attitude towards the neighborhood and the conditions there, or a sense of participation in the life of the church.

The evidence thus leads to a significant finding: the congregations lack direction and clear, generally understood policies on their relations with the people in their neighborhoods, on the problems of the community, on social action in general.

TABLE 1--CHAPTER IV

SATISFACTION WITH CONGREGATION

"All in all, how good a job do you think your congregation is doing?"

	Very good job	Fairly good job	Rather poor job	Don't know	No answer	Total Number	+	-
	%	%	%	%	%			
St. Peter's	70	20	-	9	1	(339)	(238)	(98)
Trinity*	64	27	-	8	1	(231)	(148)	(83)
Zion	62	27	1	10	-	(256)	(159)	(97)
St. Matthew's	33	56	2	8	-	(302)	(100)	(201)
St. Mark's	28	55	2	13	2	(211)	(58)	(148)
St. John's	24	61	3	12	-	(215)	(52)	(163)
St. Luke's	20	58	12	10	-	(59)	(12)	(47)

*Trinity

Negroes

Whites

	70	24	-	6	-	(113)	(79)	(34)
	59	31	-	10	-	(115)	(68)	(47)

Note: The answer "Very good job" is indicated by a "+" sign, all other answers or no answer by a "-" sign.

TABLE 2--CHAPTER IV

RATING OF PROBLEMS

"Are the problems facing your congregation
more difficult, less difficult or about the
same as the problems facing other city
congregations that you know about?"

	More difficult %	About the same %	Less difficult %	Don't know and No answer %	Total Number
St. Peter's	6	57	4	33	(339)
Trinity*	45	35	3	17	(228)
Zion	10	53	6	31	(256)
St. Matthew's	22	51	1	26	(302)
St. Mark's	58	21	2	19	(211)
St. John's	3	62	4	31	(215)
St. Luke's	34	44	-	22	(59)
*Trinity					
Negroes	23	48	6	23	(113)
Whites	67	23	-	10	(115)

TABLE 2a--CHAPTER IV

RATINGS OF PROBLEMS AND SATISFACTION
WITH CONGREGATION

"Are the problems facing your congregation
more difficult, less difficult or about
the same as the problems facing other
city congregations that you know about?"

	<u>Trinity</u>			
	<u>Negro Members</u>		<u>White Members</u>	
	Rate congregation's job:			
	⁺ (N = 79) %	⁻ (N = 34) %	⁺ (N = 68) %	⁻ (N = 47) %
Problems are:				
More difficult	22	26	71	62
About the same	57	26	22	23
Less difficult	8	3	-	-
Don't know, no answer	14	44	7	15

	<u>St. Mark's</u>	
	Rate congregation's job:	
	⁺ (N = 58) %	⁻ (N = 148) %
Problems are:		
More difficult	53	58
About the same	22	22
Less difficult	3	1
Don't know, no answer	21	19

TABLE 3--CHAPTER IV
GROWTH OF MEMBERSHIP

"What has happened to the membership
of your congregation during the last
five years?"

Percentage of respondents
checking: "It's been growing."

	All respondents	Rate congregation's job:	
		+	-
	%	%	%
St. Peter's	74	80	59
Trinity, Negroes	77	82	65
Whites	37	43	30
Zion	79	86	67
St. Matthew's	72	86	65
St. Mark's	17	22	15
St. John's	59	73	55
St. Luke's	32	67	23

Note: Total numbers for the categories in TABLE 1--CHAPTER IV.

TABLE 4--CHAPTER IV
ATTITUDES TOWARDS INTEGRATION

"Do you think that your congregation
should accept into membership
persons of all races?"

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	No answer %	Total Number
St. Peter's	42	31	24	3	339
Trinity	89	4	5	2	231
Zion	67	15	14	4	256
St. Matthew's	75	12	12	1	302
St. Mark's	56	31	10	3	211
St. John's	82	8	8	1	215
St. Luke's	80	1	19	-	59

TABLE 4a--CHAPTER IV
ATTITUDES TOWARDS INTEGRATION AND
SATISFACTION WITH CONGREGATION

"Do you think that your congregation
should accept into membership
persons of all races?"

	<u>St. Peter's</u>	
	Rate congregation's job:	
	⁺ (N = 238) %	⁻ (N = 98) %
Yes	44	36
No	29	36
Don't know	23	26
No answer	3	2

	<u>St. Mark's</u>	
	Rate congregation's job:	
	⁺ (N = 58) %	⁻ (N = 148) %
Yes	69	51
No	19	35
Don't know	9	11
No answer	3	3

TABLE 5--CHAPTER IV
ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE NEIGHBORHOOD

"What is your opinion of the neighborhood in which your church building is located?"						
	St. Peter's (N = 339) %	Trinity (N = 231) %	Zion (N = 256) %	St. Matthew's (N = 302) %	St. Mark's (N = 211) %	St. John's (N = 215) %
A very nice place to live	14	73*	44	8	3	27
A fairly nice place to live	65	17	47	27	21	60
A rather poor place to live	16	4	4	60	67	9
Don't know, NA	5	6	5	5	8	5
"We know that some city neighborhoods change very fast. What is your impression as to what has been going on in your neighborhood over the last year?"						
Changing for the better	7	29	5	55	2	16
Not changing very much	55	36	54	20	10	49
Changing for the worse	19	13	27	9	75	25
Don't know, NA	19	20	14	15	14	10
						7

*Trinity, Negroes: 90%
Whites: 57%

TABLE 6--CHAPTER IV

THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND SATISFACTION WITH THE CONGREGATION

	St. Peter's		Trinity		Zion	St. Matthew's		St. Mark's		St. John's		St. Luke's				
	Negroes	Whites	Negroes	Whites		Negroes	Whites	Negroes	Whites	Negroes	Whites	Negroes	Whites			
Rate congregation	(79)	(68)	(159)	(100)	(58)	(52)	(163)	(12)	(47)							
Total numbers	(34)	(47)	(97)	(201)	(148)	(163)	(47)									
	Percentage															
<u>"What is your opinion of the neighborhood in which your church building is located?"</u>																
A very nice place,	16	9	94	82	65	45	53	30	18	3	5	3	38	23	33	34
A fairly nice place,	68	57	6	9	26	28	40	59	26	27	33	17	54	61	58	53
A rather poor place, to live	13	26	-	3	1	15	4	5	51	65	53	72	2	12	-	9
<u>"What is your impression as to what has been going on in your neighborhood . . . ?"</u>																
Changing for the better	9	3	52	34	15	11	7	3	62	51	3	1	31	11	66	66
Not changing very much	58	52	39	44	40	19	55	52	19	21	7	11	50	49	8	17
Changing for the worse	18	21	3	6	12	40	25	30	6	11	67	76	13	29	17	6
Respondents perceive neighborhood and city problems (index)																
	28	26	53	49	62	61	23	34	52	47	59	68	25	35	33	51
Congregation rated highly on both problem areas (index)																
	28	15	57	37	59	22	25	9	25	10	36	12	10	5	-	2

TABLE 7--CHAPTER IV

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS SATISFIED WITH CONGREGATION

Percentage of respondents checking "Very good job" on question: "All in all, how good a job do you think your congregation is doing?"							
	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
All respondents	70	64	62	33	28	24	20
Men	63	62	58	29	27	25	10
Women	76	66	64	35	29	24	26
Under 50 years old	66	60	47	26	22	23	17
Over 50 years old	77	71	75	40	34	26	21
A member for: up to 5 years	64	70	55	32	26	34	27
More than 5 years	72	54	66	33	27	20	19
Less educated	74	66	70	39	30	34	22
Better educated	61	62	52	28	24	14	20
<u>"How far do you live from the church?"</u>							
Up to 10 blocks	70	67	61	26	34	27	22
11 to 30 blocks	74	63	64	46	23	21	25
More than 30 blocks	69	58	62	30	27	13	13

Note: Total numbers for each category in TABLES 2 and 3--CHAPTER II.

TABLE 7--CHAPTER IV--Continued

Percentage of respondents satisfied with congregation's job.		St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
Age by educational level:								
Under 50 years, low education		74 (89)	69 (18)	54 (26)	28 (10)	24 (9)	39 (21)	25 (1)
Under 50 years, high education		56 (53)	58 (75)	42 (28)	25 (29)	21 (15)	13 (11)	18 (3)
Over 50 years, low education		75 (79)	64 (27)	79 (74)	42 (42)	35 (25)	29 (15)	18 (4)
Over 50 years, high education		88 (15)	79 (26)	66 (31)	33 (16)	32 (9)	18 (4)	25 (3)

TABLE 7a--CHAPTER IV

Percentage of respondents checking
"very good job" on question:
"All in all, how good a job do you
think your congregation is doing?"

Trinity	Negro Members		White Members	
	%	N	%	N
Under 50 years old	67	(66)	50	(28)
Over 50 years old	87	(13)	68	(40)
A member for up to 5 years	69	(75)	78	(14)
A member for more than 5 years	67	(2)	55	(53)
Less educated	75	(15)	65	(30)
Better educated	69	(63)	55	(38)
Distance from church:				
Up to 10 blocks	66	(56)	78	(14)
11 to 30 blocks	88	(15)	56	(29)
More than 30 blocks	78	(7)	56	(25)

Note: Total numbers for the categories in sequence as above:

(98)	(56)
(15)	(59)
(109)	(18)
(3)	(96)
(21)	(46)
(92)	(69)
(86)	(18)
(18)	(52)
(9)	(45)

TABLE 8--CHAPTER IV
PARTICIPATION AND SATISFACTION WITH CONGREGATION

	St. Peter's	Negroes	Trinity Whites	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
Rate congregation	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ -
Total numbers	(238)(98)	(79)(34)	(68)(47)	(159)(97)	(100)(201)	(58)(148)	(52)(163)	(12)(47)
% of respondents who:								
Attend Sunday services								
at least 3/ month*	53 37	67 66	79 55	58 35	55 58	53 49	67 57	90 68
Hold some responsible position in church*	17 15	42 38	43 23	38 23	25 30	38 24	27 31	42 49
Belong to one or more church organizations*	39 36	75 62	74 43	53 44	43 52	72 48	41 40	66 59
Feel they have a voice in policy and program†	47 33	62 47	60 34	47 30	44 38	47 27	40 46	58 47
4 or 5 of "five closest friends are members‡"	41 22	16 3	35 25	28 16	38 24	48 30	25 24	8 32

*Overall percentages for each congregation in TABLE 4--CHAPTER II.

#Overall percentages for congregations in sequence as above:

43	58	41	40	32	45	49
35	12	24	29	35	24	12

CHAPTER V

ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS OF SEVEN CONGREGATIONS

The previous chapter tried to assess what, besides its pastor, makes a congregation satisfactory in the eyes of its members. It brought us to the conclusion that, in the minds of the ordinary respondents, "the job" the congregation is doing is sometimes connected with problems existing in the neighborhood or arising out of conditions in the neighborhood, but that this connection is neither strong nor clear; it only becomes so when dramatic changes occur in the neighborhood or when a dynamic pastor tries to bring about a change in the congregation and in its attitude towards the neighborhood.

Yet the relationship between the big city congregations and their neighborhoods is of primary interest in ascertaining the acceptance of the new norm of neighborhood involvement and social action and, therefore, matters cannot be left at this point. In the present chapter we shall try to find out something more about how environmental problems affect what members think of their congregation. Two series of questions in the questionnaire are especially designed to measure how much the members, and through them the churches as organizations, are affected by the problems general to big cities. One series deals with what has been labeled "neighborhood problems," the other with what has been labeled "city problems." Each series

consists of two parts, one intended to measure the awareness or the impact of particular problems, the other to evaluate what the congregation is doing about these problems.

Here follow the two series of questions as they appear in the questionnaire:

Neighborhood problems:

Which of the following problems exist in the neighborhood of your church?

(Please answer for each problem.)

Yes No Don't Know

Juvenile Delinquency
Drug addiction
Mental illness
Slums
Alcoholism
Rapid increase in number of older persons

How good a job is your congregation doing in helping to solve these problems?

(Please answer for each problem.)

Very Fairly Poor Don't
good good job know
job job

Juvenile Delinquency
Drug addiction
Mental illness
Slums
Alcoholism
Rapid increase in number of older persons
Overcrowded public schools
Racial conflict

City Problems:

Here are three problems which sometimes arise in big city life. Please read each carefully and then indicate whether or not you consider the problem . . . as affecting your congregation and also indicate what you think your congregation should do about it.

1 - The bigness of a city tends to make people lonely.
To what extent do you feel this affects your congregation?

Very much
Some
Not very much
Don't know

Is your congregation doing anything to help people to meet this problem?

Yes - a lot
Yes - a little
No, not really
Don't know

2 - In many parts of our big cities, people from different backgrounds live together and ill feeling sometimes arises between members of the different groups.

To what extent do you feel that it affects your congregation?

Very much
Some
Not very much
Don't know

Is your congregation now doing anything to meet this problem?

Yes - a lot
Yes - a little
No, not really
Don't know

3 - The people of the city tend to move very frequently. In those parts of the city where there is a lot of population movement, the schools, churches, and business face a difficult problem in trying to meet the needs of ever changing population.

To what extent do you feel that this problem affects your congregation?

Very much
Some
Not very much
Don't know

Is your congregation now doing anything to meet the needs of the new people moving into your neighborhood?

Yes - a lot
Yes - a little
No, not really
Don't know

As before, answers to these questions have been dichotomized. We shall say that respondents perceive a problem if they check "Yes" in answer to the question about the existence of neighborhood problems and "Very much" or "Some" in answer to the question about city problems affecting their congregation. All other answers and no answers are treated as negative answers. We shall say that respondents rate the actions of their congregation highly or favorably if they check "Very good job" in answer to the question what the congregation is doing about neighborhood problems or if they check "Yes - a lot" in answer to a question about what the congregation is doing with regard to city problems. All other answers and no answers to these two series of questions are treated as negative answers.

The positive answers to both series of questions are shown in TABLE 1a--CHAPTER V except for four of the neighborhood problems, drug addiction, mental illness, alcoholism, rapid increase in number of older persons, which seem to have baffled most of the respondents. Up to 95% answered "Don't know" or gave no answer to the questions concerning these problems. The proportion of outright denials of the existence of a neighborhood problem or of any effect on the congregation of a city problem--as against "Don't know's" and no answers--depends on the problem. The existence of slums is most often denied outright among the neighborhood problems (up to 56% in St. John's and 58% in Trinity); among the city problems, the one most often said not to affect the congregation is that of people from different backgrounds living together (up to 48% in St. Luke's).

The high proportion of "Don't know" answers and no answers in response to questions concerning four of the neighborhood problems was just mentioned. There are not so many "Don't know's" and no answers for the other four neighborhood problems--juvenile delinquency, slums, overcrowded public schools, racial conflict--and fewer still for the three city problems.¹ But there are still very many as compared with answers to other questions, in particular questions about satisfaction with the pastor's or the congregation's overall job. We can see several reasons for this.

The questionnaire was developed, in the main, by an interdenominational meeting concerned with the several denominational studies of city churches. The men who participated in the development of the questionnaire (Charles Y. Glock, Karl H. Hertz, Walter Kloetzli, Everett L. Perry, Ross Sanderson, Richard Sommerfeld, Glen W. Trimble and Lauris B. Whitman) are all devoted to the propositions that churches have a responsibility toward their neighborhoods and for the solution of social problems. The questionnaire does not allow the respondents to register their agreement or disagreement with these propositions. The initiators of the study also assumed that each of the congregations selected was affected by at least some of the problems listed among the eight neighborhood problems and the three city problems. I do not know

¹The fewer "Don't know's" and no answers for the city problems are probably due in part to the more detailed formulation of the questions, the greater choice of check answers, the clearer, more spacious typography and, in addition, to the fact that there are only three of these questions.

whether they also thought that the congregations--or their pastors--might and should do something about all of these problems if they affected the congregation or the neighborhood of the church. But the formulation of the questions at least suggested this to the respondents. To some extent respondents may thus have been induced to check "Don't know" or not to answer at all instead of giving a relatively negative answer like "fairly good job" or "poor job" if asked, for example, "How good a job is your congregation doing in helping to solve the problem of overcrowded public schools?" We therefore take the high rates of "Don't know" answers and of no answers not only as indications of lack of knowledge or indifference, but also as an expression of reluctance to saddle the congregation with this particular responsibility. This is most obvious in the case of "overcrowded public schools" which are widely perceived to be a problem but not as a problem for a church congregation to solve.

One may also speculate that the low response to the problems listed is partly due to their being incomplete, leaving out some problems with which respondents are familiar. It would have been reasonable to include "broken homes," "illegitimacy," "petty graft or corruption of the police, local officials, or unions," "lack of playgrounds for small children," and so on. As we find them in the questionnaire, the two series of questions arose out of the concerns of the people participating in the meetings preliminary to the study. The questions are thus based on personal experience, but not on a systematic exploration of what the average member of a big city congregation

experiences.

The series of questions can, of course, only produce measures of more or less definite attitudes among the respondents and not measures of facts. For example, the very nature of "loneliness" makes it unlikely that respondents know how much their congregation is affected by it or how much help the congregation is giving about it. But the questions, when compounded into indices, provide a sort of barometer which indicates the level of awareness or concern and of trust in the congregation's work in the general area of "neighborhood outreach." This barometer tells us something different and more specific than the answers to the general questions, treated in Chapter IV, about the difficulty of the problems (unspecified) confronting the congregation and the job the congregation is doing.

We shall, however, first take a brief look at the most important single problems before introducing the indices constructed from answers to all the problem questions.

The Importance of Single Problems in the Seven Congregations

The city problem which, according to our respondents, most affects each of the seven congregations is problem 3, "The people of the city tend to move very frequently. In those parts of the city where there is a lot of population movement, the schools, churches, and business face a difficult problem in trying to meet the needs of ever changing population." (See TABLE 1a--CHAPTER V.) The proportions of respondents checking

this problem vary from 24% in St. John's to 69% in St. Mark's, but they are always the largest of the three. In the two integrated congregations, problem 2, "In many parts of our big cities, people from different backgrounds live together and ill feeling sometimes arises between members of the different groups," is second in importance: 64% of the respondents in St. Mark's and 46% in Trinity say it affects their congregation "very much" or "some."¹ But in the five other cases, problem 1, "The bigness of a city tends to make people lonely," is the second biggest city problem. Here, differences between congregations are smaller than for the other two city problems.

"Overcrowded public schools" is the neighborhood problem which is said to exist most often of the eight problems listed. In five of our seven congregations, "overcrowded public schools" get the highest proportion of check-marks, in two, St. Matthew's and St. Mark's, the second highest proportion. In St. Matthew's, "slums" are placed first. In St. Mark's it is "racial conflict." But "racial conflict" is not placed first in Trinity, where Negro respondents think it no longer exists in their neighborhood, while white respondents, looking into the past or outside the immediate neighborhood, do. Thus

¹Although racial integration is an open issue in Trinity and St. Mark's, not all respondents say that the problem of "people from different backgrounds" living together affects their congregation. This is probably because of the phrase in the statement of the question which runs "ill feeling sometimes arises between members of the different groups"; no doubt, many feel that this does not apply to their congregation even if it does to the neighborhood. When asked, "Is your congregation now doing anything to meet this problem?" respondents may be in doubt whether this means doing something in the congregation or in the city.

"racial conflict" runs second in Trinity, far behind "crowded public schools." St. Mark's has, according to its members, the worst neighborhood--a neighborhood where practically all the problems listed are perceived as existing by considerable numbers of respondents.

The 'ever changing population' is, as remarked above, the city problem most often said to affect each of the seven congregations. In three congregations, highest marks are also given to what the congregation is doing "to meet the needs of the new people moving into the neighborhood," that is, in Trinity, St. Mark's and St. Matthew's. In the other four cases, what the congregations are doing about this problem ranks second, behind what they are doing to help people meet the problem of loneliness. Trinity is doing as well about 'different groups living together' as about the 'ever changing population,' but not St. Mark's. In fact, in view of the urgency of the problem, St. Mark's seems to be doing a poor job about it and the same is true for 'racial conflict'; this is perceived by 57% of the respondents, while only 19% say that St. Mark's is doing "a very good job in helping to solve this problem." This, again, is in contrast to Trinity, where 49%--by far the highest proportion awarding a 'very good job' to any congregation on any neighborhood problem--rate the congregation's efforts in helping to solve the problem of racial conflict highly. In this case, more respondents rate the congregation's action highly than say the problem exists--the surplus coming from the Negro respondents.

Trinity has a surplus of favorable ratings of what the congregation is doing over acknowledgments of existence of these problems for all city and neighborhood problems, except 'overcrowded public schools.' Even the most enthusiastic respondents rarely maintain that their congregation is doing something about this problem. 'Slums' do not fare any better. 'Juvenile delinquency' and 'racial conflict' are the two neighborhood problems on which congregations are doing something, at least according to minorities of our respondents. The minorities are small: from 1% at St. Luke's to 25% at enthusiastic Trinity and satisfied St. Peter's, say their organization is doing 'a very good job' in helping to solve the problem of juvenile delinquency.

Though the study of single items from the series of city and neighborhood-problems adds something to our understanding of the situation in different congregations, it does not change the picture. Further analysis of single items is not fruitful, and we shall now turn to the use of indices in which the various single problems are compounded.

The analysis by means of the indices of perception of problems and of rating on action about these problems carries, however, more details than the other chapters do. Though necessary for the demonstration of the findings summarized below, they are not necessary for the understanding of the findings and of the place of these findings in the enquiry as a whole. This part of the analysis is, therefore, appended for the use of especially interested readers. (See APPENDIX, pp. 331-362.)

Perception of Problems and Rating
of the Congregation's Action

We have found that in all congregations except Trinity and St. Mark's there are considerable minorities of respondents (up to one-third) who do not see either the neighborhood or the congregation as affected by any of the eleven problems listed. Larger proportions of respondents (up to 78%) do not rate highly what their congregation is doing about any one of the problems. (See Graph or TABLE L--CHAPTER V.) There are no established standards by which to assess these results. Nor are there objective criteria to show when a problem should be perceived to "exist" in a neighborhood or to "affect" a congregation. Compared to the overall favorable ratings of the congregation's job, the specific ratings look poor: not even for the problem which our respondents most often feel affects their congregation, namely, 'ever changing population,' does any one of the seven congregations get as good a rating for its action as it gets for its overall job.

The differences between the high favorable overall rating and the low favorable rating for action on specific problems are greatest in St. Peter's and Zion, much smaller in Trinity and in the "dissatisfied" congregations, smallest in "dissatisfied" St. Mark's. Satisfaction with action on specific problems is thus only partly a function of general satisfaction. It also depends on problem consciousness. (See TABLE 2--CHAPTER V.)

If we take problem consciousness as the standard by which to assess the degree of satisfaction with the job the

congregation is doing on specific problems, then the picture looks better in the "satisfied" congregations, but not in the "dissatisfied" ones. There is, in all seven cases, a higher proportion of respondents who perceive at least one of both kinds of problems than of respondents who rate the congregation's respective actions highly, but the differences are not large in the three "satisfied" congregations; as one might expect, they are large in the "dissatisfied" congregations. (See Graph or TABLE 1--CHAPTER V.) For single problems, the relationship of perception to rating of the congregation's action varies greatly as between problems and as between congregations, but in general it is still true that problem consciousness is greater and satisfaction with action on specific problems smaller in the "dissatisfied" congregations, that problem consciousness is smaller and satisfaction is low too in the two "satisfied" congregations of St. Peter's and Zion, and that problem-consciousness is high and satisfaction is high too in "satisfied" Trinity. The double dependency of the rating of specific action, on general satisfaction and on problem consciousness, is our main finding.

In Chapter IV we have studied what makes respondents generally satisfied. What characterizes problem conscious respondents as against not problem-conscious ones can be summarized as follows. (For details and tables, see APPENDIX.)

Women, with their well-known tendency to answer "Don't know," are somewhat less problem conscious than men; the same can be said of respondents over fifty and of those with little

education. The most problem conscious respondents in all seven congregations are those under fifty who have graduated from high school or gone to college. Awareness of the problems in the environment of the church is not directly related to the distance from church at which respondents are living; the relationship varies according to other factors in the case.

Problem consciousness is associated with higher rates of active participation (church-going, membership in organizations, holding of positions) in all seven congregations and also with higher rates of the feeling of having "a voice in shaping the policy and program" of the congregation and the conviction that decisions are arrived at democratically. But problem consciousness is not necessarily associated with more social integration: in some congregations the problem conscious respondents, in others those not problem conscious have more close friends and the differences are generally small.

At least some of the problem conscious respondents credit their church membership with helping them to become so: More problem conscious than not problem conscious respondents say their church membership is of much help in making them aware of the needs of others in the community and in helping them to understand people of different cultures and races.

Problem conscious respondents are, in general, more critical of the neighborhood and more pessimistic about the changes going on.

Problem consciousness is generally not related to favorable or unfavorable attitudes towards integration. The evidence does not, however, permit far-reaching deduction.

On the whole, we find that the characteristics associated with problem consciousness are those which are desirable from the viewpoint of a church oriented towards its neighborhood. But we also find that these respondents come from groups which are often under-represented in big city churches--the men, people under fifty, the better educated. The failure to attract men is a general problem of the churches. The 'flight to the suburbs' of the younger, better educated--and betteroff--people is a main problem of the big city churches. It appears that the problem consciousness of these groups, which would make them potentially effective agents in the church's quest for influence on its social environment, also induces them to leave the neighborhood and, perhaps sometime later, the church. The church thus faces the double task of stirring up concern for the problems of the neighborhood among the indifferent or quiescent members and to imbue those who are already concerned with a sense of mission towards the neighborhood of the church. Our data indicate that both aims are sometimes achieved, but usually not.

From what has been said so far, we may conclude that respondents who are satisfied with their congregation's action on specific problems should show at the same time the characteristics of problem conscious respondents and of those satisfied with the overall job of the congregation. Differences between respondents who are satisfied or dissatisfied with action on specific problems are bigger and clearer than between respondents who are just generally satisfied or dissatisfied. This indicates a selection: those respondents who say that

their congregation is doing "a lot" or "a very good job" on at least one of each of the two series of problems are the kind of members a church would like to have--satisfied and active. There are, however, few of them even in "satisfied." St. Peter's and Zion, there are very few in the "dissatisfied" congregations; only Trinity makes a good showing. It is significant that St. Peter's and Zion get most of the favorable ratings they get for any specific job for what they do to help people to meet the problem of loneliness. The fund of good-will in these two "satisfied" churches expresses itself here, but the fact remains that the respondents do not think very much of what these two congregations are doing about the less personal problems in the neighborhood.¹ (See TABLES 1 and 1a--CHAPTER V.)

Both the problem conscious respondents and those who rate the action of their congregation on these problems highly are elites of participation, but they differ in their attitudes towards the neighborhood. (For details and tables, see APPENDIX.) Problem conscious respondents in general tend to rate the neighborhood less well and to be more pessimistic about what is going on in it than those not conscious of problems. Those satisfied about specific actions of the congregation, however, generally tend to rate the neighborhood better than the dissatisfied respondents and to be more optimistic about its development. We may remember that not all of those who give

¹Our index of high rating of action on both kinds of problems eliminates those respondents who do not see their congregations doing good on any other problem but loneliness.

their congregation a high rating for dealing with specific problems think such problems exist in their neighborhood or affect their congregation. Thus in this instance the attitude of the generally satisfied respondents--a tendency to think well of the neighborhood--prevails over the critical attitude associated with problem consciousness, which, again, does to demonstrate the ambivalent nature of all our measures of "satisfaction": they include of necessity informed as well as uninformed satisfaction.

We might consider only the rate of informed satisfaction as a measure of "effectiveness" on the specific problems listed in the questionnaire. For dealing with the problems listed, this rate would be as follows:

Respondents who are problem
conscious and satisfied

St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
11% (37)	34% (78)	9% (24)	12% (35)	17% (36)	2% (5)	2% (1)

It must be admitted that the rate is generally a low one. A single case, Trinity, is susceptible of a special explanation: there, where the rate found is actually twice that of the next highest rate, most of the Negro respondents do not recognize the continued existence of the race problem at all; they think it has been solved for their church and its neighborhood.

TABLE 1--CHAPTER V

PROBLEM INDEX IN SEVEN CONGREGATIONS

Percentage of respondents who show:	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
Perception of City Problems	51 (172)	72 (166)	52 (153)	69 (208)	81 (171)	44 (95)	75 (44)
Perception of Neighborhood Problems	42 (144)	72 (165)	45 (115)	59 (178)	73 (154)	66 (141)	54 (32)
Perception of both kinds of problems	27 (93)	57 (131)	27 (69)	49 (147)	65 (137)	33 (70)	47 (28)
No perception of problems	33 (113)	13 (31)	29 (73)	20 (59)	12 (25)	23 (50)	19 (11)
High rating of action on City Problems	52 (177)	71 (163)	39 (99)	39 (117)	45 (94)	21 (45)	20 (12)
High rating of action on Neighborhood Problems	33 (112)	60 (138)	25 (64)	30 (90)	27 (57)	21 (44)	3 (2)
High rating of action on both kinds of problems	24 (81)	47 (109)	19 (48)	15 (45)	19 (41)	6 (13)	2 (1)
No high rating of action on problems	39 (131)	17 (40)	56 (142)	47 (141)	48 (102)	65 (139)	78 (46)

TABLE 1a--CHAPTER V

PROBLEMS MOST OFTEN PERCEIVED OR SEEN AS ACTED UPON EFFECTIVELY

Percentage of respondents who perceive:	St. Peter's (339)	Trinity (231)	Zion (256)	St. Matthew's (302)	St. Mark's (211)	St. John's (215)	St. Luke's (59)
<u>City Problems:</u>							
Loneliness	25	21	29	35	35	21	26
Different groups	17	46	16	23	64	16	13
Changing population	38	52	38	58	69	24	62
<u>Neighborhood problems:</u> *							
Juvenile delinquency	15	3	18	29	33	32	13
Slums	5	1	4	33	30	4	21
Overcrowded schools	32	60	34	30	50	55	44
Racial conflict	11	30	17	14	57	12	10
<u>Respondents who rate action highly on:</u>							
<u>City Problems:</u>							
Loneliness	43	31	34	21	19	14	13
Different groups	17	47	12	11	23	1	2
Changing population	25	47	19	25	33	10	8
<u>Neighborhood Problems:</u> *							
Juvenile delinquency	25	25	19	10	12	15	1
Slums	7	18	4	4	5	5	1
Overcrowded schools	5	19	4	2	4	6	-
Racial conflict	14	49	8	12	19	7	3

*Only four of the eight neighborhood problems are enumerated here because the other four (drug addiction, mental illness, alcoholism and rapid increase in number of older persons) are checked only by a very few respondents. The only exception: in St. Matthew's 19% say the congregation is doing a very good job on mental illness. (Only 8% say mental illness exists in the neighborhood.)

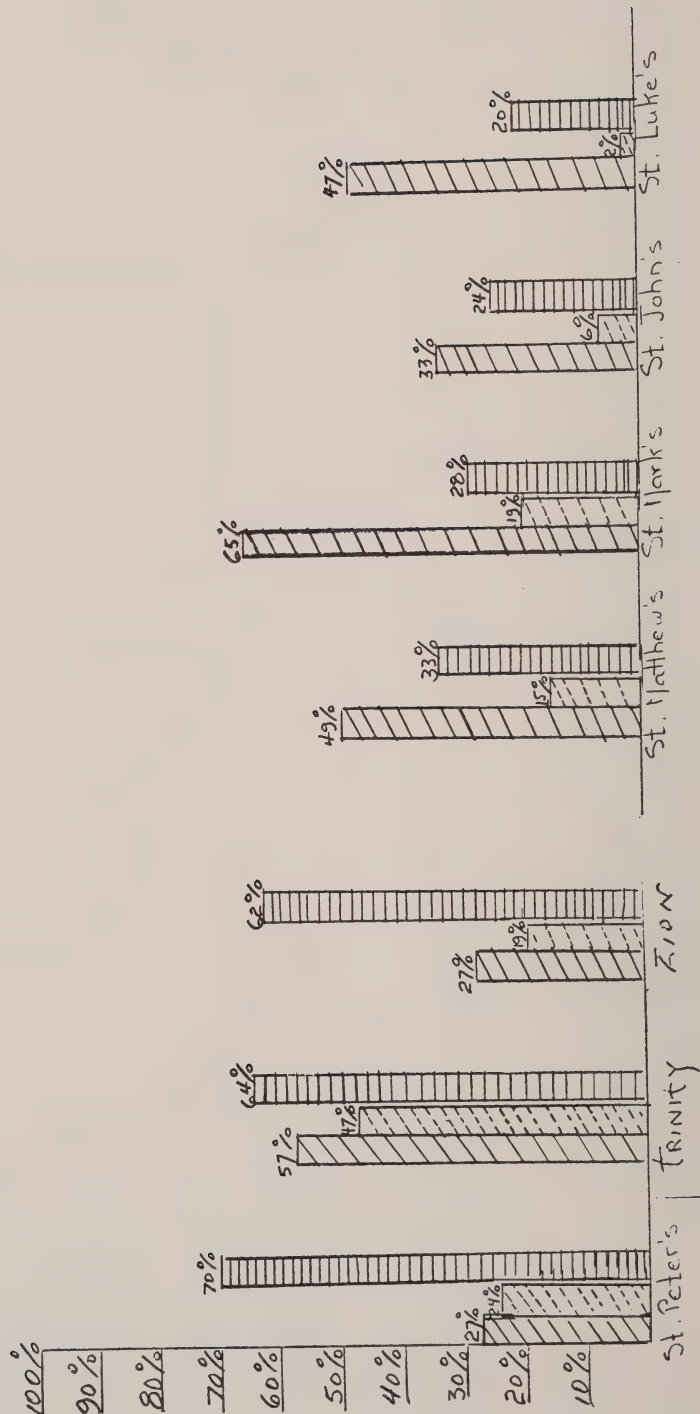
TABLE 2---CHAPTER V

PERCEPTION OF PROBLEMS AND RATING OF ACTION ON THESE PROBLEMS

	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
I. % of respondents perceiving city problems who rate action on city problems highly	66 (113)	81 (134)	50 (66)	45 (93)	51 (88)	23 (22)	20 (9)
II. % of respondents perceiving neighborhood problems who rate action on neighborhood problems highly	47 (67)	67 (111)	40 (46)	40 (71)	34 (53)	28 (40)	6 (2)
III. % of respondents perceiving both kinds of problems who rate action on both kinds of problems highly	40 (37)	60 (78)	35 (24)	24 (35)	26 (36)	7 (5)	4 (1)
IV. % of respondents not perceiving any problems who do not rate action on any problems highly	58 (66)	42 (13)	74 (54)	63 (37)	96 (24)	86 (43)	73 (8)
V. % of respondents not rating action on any problems highly who do not perceive any problems	51 (66)	33 (13)	38 (54)	26 (37)	24 (24)	31 (43)	17 (8)

Specific Problems

- Perception of both kinds of specific problems
- High rating of action on both kinds of specific problems
- High rating of overall job the congregation is doing



CHAPTER VI

PERSONAL RELIGIOUS SATISFACTION IN SEVEN CONGREGATIONS

In the four "dissatisfied" congregations especially, but also in the "satisfied" ones, we have found considerable numbers of respondents who think little or nothing of the job the pastor is doing and less of the congregation's job. The question therefore repeatedly arises as to what it is that keeps them in the congregation. Answers, but only partial answers, are found in responsibilities they have undertaken in the church, in relatively close social ties they have with other members of the congregation, and in habits of life which include membership in a particular neighborhood church.

But there is also something deeper: it is the possibility that respondents, whether satisfied with the jobs the pastor and the congregation are doing or not, find a personal religious experience through their church membership that is satisfying enough to hold them to the church. As perhaps can be expected, the City Church Effectiveness Study--our main source of data--is little concerned with the personal and emotional components of religious experience, but there is in the questionnaire a question or two which can be used to throw light on these matters. They occur in a series of questions

which reads:

"How much help is your church membership to you in the following areas of your life? (Please check answer for each area.)

MUCH SOME LITTLE

In helping me to know of God's love and care for me -
 In meeting the right kind of people -
 In bringing my family closer together -
 In making right decisions in my business -
 In making me aware of the needs of others in my community -
 In helping me to understand people of different cultures and races -
 In strengthening my faith -
 In broadening my understanding of the meaning of life."

(For rates of "Much" answers, see TABLE 1a--CHAPTER VI.)

A positive answer--"Much"--to the first item, "in helping me to know of God's love and care for me," is taken here as the most inclusive measure of "personal religious satisfaction" within his church a respondent can signify.¹

The most important fact about personal religious satisfaction is that it is very high in all seven congregations.

(See TABLE 1--CHAPTER VI.) Church members who have answered

¹The respondents did not answer the questions in this series indiscriminately, but they made little use of the gradation from "some" to "little." The answers have therefore been dichotomized into positive ones ("much") or negative ones ("some," "little," or no answer). No answers occur frequently in those matters which do not apply to all respondents, especially family and business, and in those which do not necessarily have anything to do with church membership. No answers also occur more frequently with the last two "areas" than with the first "area." I do not attribute this to discriminating thought on the part of the respondents because it is scarcely conceivable that a respondent feels "helped to know of God's love and care for him" but does not also feel "strengthened in his faith." Instead, I attribute the increase in no answers to the fact that the last two "areas" are printed on a new page towards the end of the questionnaire and can easily be overlooked by tired respondents.

the questionnaire are in strong agreement that their church membership is helping them "much" to know of God's love and care for them. They might have used different words if they had been asked why they belong to their congregation, but, presented with the wording of the questionnaire, they seem to have felt little hesitation. The fact that the response in the "dissatisfied" congregations is almost the same as in the "satisfied" ones shows that personal religious satisfaction as measured here is, to a high degree, independent of satisfaction with the performances of pastor and congregation. The independence is, of course, not complete. The highest rate of personal satisfaction (83%) is found in Trinity, one of the "satisfied" congregations, and the lowest rate (72%) in St. Mark's, one of the "dissatisfied" congregations. The exceptionally low rate of St. Mark's (there is a six percentage point difference between its rate and the next, St. John's, which has a 78% rate) also seems to signalize the special crisis situation of this congregation which we have stressed before. But the overall impression remains that, whatever the shortcomings of particular churches, their members feel they perform the function of bringing them closer to deity.

Characteristics of Respondents with Personal Religious Satisfaction

One would expect women to be more often personally satisfied than men on the ground that they are, on the whole, more often satisfied with the pastor's and the congregation's performances and, perhaps, also on the ground that their

religion is more emotional than that of men. The expectation is borne out. (See TABLE 2--CHAPTER VI.)

In contrast to satisfaction with pastor and congregation, personal religious satisfaction seems not to be associated with age in any of the seven cases. We have found age groups strongly divided about the performance of the pastor or of the congregation, especially in Zion and St. John's, but the largest difference between the two age groups which we find among rates of personal satisfaction is five percentage points in St. Mark's. In St. Mark's it is the group of older, less educated respondents which shows the lowest rate of personal satisfaction (64%), while the older, better educated respondents have the highest rate (86%), and education makes no noticeable difference among the younger respondents (76% and 74%). This is not the same pattern as we find for rates of satisfaction with the pastor or with the congregation. In none of the other cases does education make such a difference in either of the two age groups. The best clue to why the rate of personal satisfaction is so low among the older, less educated members of St. Mark's may lie in the fact that they also have the lowest rate of going to church at least three times a month and at the same time the lowest rate of approval for the congregation's action on neighborhood problems. They do not blame the pastor or the congregation more often than other groups, but they do not seem to like what is happening and are on the point of withdrawal from the church more often than others.

In general, neither age, nor education, nor length of

membership seems to have much influence on the rate of personal satisfaction. In St. Matthew's, where length of membership makes a lot of difference to judgment of the pastor (long-term members like him less by 21 percentage points), personal satisfaction is not similarly affected; long-term members, in fact, are more often personally satisfied than short-term members (82% vs. 74%)--a finding which is entirely in keeping with all we have learned about St. Matthew's. In St. John's, where age as well as length of membership influence judgment of the pastor strongly, neither makes any difference to personal satisfaction.

Thus, apart from the fact that women have higher rates of personal satisfaction (in 3 cases married women have the highest, in 3 cases unmarried women; in 1 case the two groups have the same rate), the demographic attributes used so far in describing our respondents show hardly any association with the characteristic termed "personal religious satisfaction."

Personal Religious Satisfaction and Participation

In general, the association between personal religious satisfaction and participation in the life of the church is as might be expected. Considering first the three indicators of what we have called active participation, we find that people who are personally satisfied the more often attend Sunday services at least 3 times a month, the more often belong to one or more church organizations, and the more often hold some responsible position. (See TABLE 3--CHAPTER VI.)

For the two latter of these items, however, we have one exception, St. Luke's, where those who are not personally satisfied more often belong to organizations and more often hold positions in the congregation. It will be remembered that St. Luke's has an organized opposition to the pastor, an opposition which is strong in the organizations and the council, and that St. Luke's is the one of the seven cases in which respondents show the least favorable opinion of the pastor as well as of the congregation. Although the general rate of personal satisfaction in St. Luke's is not the lowest among our cases (with 79% St. Luke's ranks fifth), it is relatively low among those respondents who belong to the active and organized opposition. Their opinion of St. Luke's is so low that they do not even say that their membership is helping them "much" to know of God's love and care for them. Nevertheless, they certainly do know of it.

In the other six cases we do not have a reversal of direction of the relationship, but we do have considerable variation in the size of the differences between rates of participation among personally satisfied and dissatisfied respondents. In St. Matthew's, those who are not personally satisfied show a particularly low rate of frequent church-going (18%), and therefore a particularly large difference from those who are personally satisfied (49 percentage points); they also belong far less often to church organizations. Thus, they are as a group quite different from those who are not satisfied with the pastor's or the congregation's performance and who tend, in St. Matthew's, to participate rather more

than the satisfied respondents.

In contrast to St. Matthew's, personal religious satisfaction makes very little difference to the frequency of church going in Trinity. (See TABLE 3--CHAPTER VI.) But in spite of such variations among congregations it is quite clear that personal religious satisfaction is associated with active participation.

It is also rather closely associated with liking the pastor's sermons "very well." This association is, however, not as close as the one between satisfaction with the pastor's job and liking his sermons. (Cf. TABLES 3--CHAPTER VI and 2--CHAPTER III.) One cannot tell whether or not the relationship between well liked sermons and the feeling of being personally helped "to know of God's love and care" is a causal one, but if so, it is probable that direction in which cause operates goes from the sermon which strengthens personal spiritual satisfaction to liking the sermon.

Personal religious satisfaction is also generally associated with the form of participation measured by answers to the following question: "Do you feel that you have a voice in shaping the policy and program of your congregation?" Without exception, we find considerably higher rates of affirmative answers among those who are spiritually satisfied.

In disintegrating St. Mark's the feeling that they have no voice in the congregation and that things are not run democratically is especially strong among those not personally satisfied. This is in accord with the large differences between those satisfied with the pastor and those not satisfied

with him; the same is true as between those satisfied with the congregation and those not satisfied with it. Any kind of dissatisfaction measured in this study is, in St. Mark's, associated with the feeling of being excluded from the affairs of the congregation, and this more markedly than in other cases.

We turn now to our measure of social integration, namely, to the question, "Of your five closest friends, how many are members of the congregation?" With the exception of St. Luke's, we find an association between being personally satisfied and having one or more close friends in the congregation, but the differences from those who are not personally satisfied are rather small. The difference is larger (25 percentage points) only in St. Matthew's, where we have previously found especially large differences between those personally satisfied and those not personally satisfied--for example, in church-going and in membership in church-organizations, two activities which are likely to lead to close friendships, or to be furthered by friends a member already has in the congregation.

The exception of St. Luke's is also in keeping with our previous finding that respondents who are not personally satisfied more often belong to church organizations and more often hold positions. That these people should also have close friends in the congregation the more often is no surprise. We well know the tight-knit active opposition to the pastor of St. Luke's.

The possibility that people who are not personally satisfied--and less often have close friends in the congregation

and less often belong to church organizations--are in some way less social beings can be checked by their membership in other organizations than those of the church. It appears that except in the case of St. Matthew's, they belong as often or a little more often to other organizations than those respondents who are personally satisfied. In St. Matthew's we seem to encounter a group among the personally unsatisfied members who are socially isolated not only in the congregation, but also outside. This suggests that loneliness, which has been treated in connection with the other two city problems in Chapter V, should here be considered in connection with personal satisfaction.

Yet the whole problem of loneliness as posed by the questionnaire remains somewhat marginal. This may, in part, explain why one does not find an association between the personal feeling of loneliness and personal religious satisfaction. There is, of course, no necessary connection, but in general, positive judgments of all kinds are associated to some extent. In this instance, however, one finds that in four out of the seven cases personal loneliness is associated with a higher rating of the help church membership gives "in knowing of God's love and care," and in the remaining three cases the reverse is true. (See TABLE 4--CHAPTER VI.)

Personal Religious Satisfaction and Attitudes
towards Integration and Neighborhood

Positive answers to all the eight questions in the series on "How much help is your church membership to you in the following areas of your life?" are associated with each other.

Thus personal religious satisfaction--saying that "much" help in knowing of God's love and care is received--is associated with saying that church membership is doing "much." "in helping me to understand people of different cultures and races." (See TABLE 4--CHAPTER VI.) But, naturally enough, far fewer people find that their church membership helps them to understand people of different cultures and races than to know of God's love and care. This is true even in St. Mark's and Trinity, the two integrated congregations. (See TABLE 1a--CHAPTER VI.)

And when one studies who feels that church membership is doing "much" in helping him to understand people of different cultures and races, the weakness of this help becomes even more evident. There is, among the three city problems listed the following: "In many parts of our big cities, people from different backgrounds live together and ill feeling sometimes arises between members of the different groups." In five congregations those who say that they feel "personally" affected by this problem" feel less often than do those who are not personally affected that their church membership leads them to greater understanding. The two congregations in which the relationship is reversed are St. John's and St. Luke's, neither of which has made any attempt at integration. Perhaps respondents answering the question about "greater understanding" are more often thinking of the people in African or Asian missions they learn about through lectures than of the Negroes in the next housing project; we cannot tell. We can, however, tell that being personally affected by the

problem of "different groups living together" is associated with a tendency to reject integration of one's church, especially in St. Peter's and St. Mark's, the congregations with the highest rates of anti-integrationists. We can tell that in integrated St. Mark's the 36% of all respondents who feel personally affected by the problem of "different groups living together" get "much" help through their church membership in "understanding people of different cultures and races" less often than those not personally affected. (The difference is 11 percentage points. See TABLE 4-- CHAPTER VI.)¹

It will not be surprising, then, to see that personal religious satisfaction has hardly any relationship with the respondents' stand on integration. More respondents among those who are personally satisfied say "Yes" to integration (with one negligible exception in St. John's), but not many more, and the difference is mainly one of greater uncertainty among those who are not personally satisfied. If we compare the proportions of those who say "No" to integration among the two groups, we find only minimal differences, going in different directions, between those who are and those who are not personally satisfied. (See TABLE 4--CHAPTER VI.) In St. Peter's, where a high proportion is anti-integration, there is no difference between the two groups, and in St. Mark's, the integrated congregation with an equally high

¹It is unlikely that being helped by the church to understand other people causes respondents to say that they are not personally affected, since the problem question occurs ten questions ahead of the one on help through church membership. The problem question is, however, not clear and misunderstandings are quite possible.

proportion of anti-integrationists, 33% of those personally satisfied say "No" and 29% of those not personally satisfied do so. (The latter say "Don't know" more often than the former, less often "Yes.")

Additional confirmation of the finding that personal religious satisfaction in these Lutheran churches is quite divorced from the problems of the world outside of the church, is found in the lack of association between religious satisfaction and either of two variables: being personally affected by the problem of different groups living together and the judgment of the neighborhood of the church. (See TABLE 4--CHAPTER VI.) There is, it is true, a small positive relationship between personal religious satisfaction and finding the neighborhood "a very nice place to live," but, with the exception of Zion (for which I have no explanation), this is mainly due to the greater chronic uncertainty of dissatisfied respondents.

What we have learned about personal religious satisfaction is thus, in the main, three things: first, that it is present to almost the same high degree in all cases, second, that it is associated with participation in the life of the church, and third, that it is not associated with environmental problems, whether they are intruding upon the congregation--as racial integration does in some cases--or not.

Although one may argue about the merits of our indicator of personal religious satisfaction, the findings at hand suggest that the traditional Lutheran position is also the

actual practice in the congregations studied: the church helps its members to come to satisfactory terms with God but does not help them to choose a satisfactory welfare policy for the community.

It is perhaps ironical that such a conclusion can be drawn from an analysis of data in The Church Effectiveness Study, whose sponsors had a different view.¹

¹The report on the Effectiveness Study by Kloetzli has also a discussion of the question about help received from the church to know God's love and care (op. cit., pp. 131-134). One should not assume that the failure of Kloetzli to draw the same conclusion as I have drawn above, is due to his bias in favor of social action. The type of tabular analysis he uses is too simple to allow such conclusions.

TABLE 1--CHAPTER VI
PERSONAL RELIGIOUS SATISFACTION
IN SEVEN CONGREGATIONS

"How much help is your church membership to you in the following areas of your life?" . . .

"In helping me to know of God's love and care for me."

	Much %	Some %	Little %	No answer %	Total number	+	-
St. Peter's	81	12	2	5	(339)	(275)	(64)
Trinity*	83	10	2	5	(231)	(192)	(39)
Zion	81	9	4	6	(256)	(207)	(49)
St. Matthew's	80	13	2	5	(301)	(240)	(61)
St. Mark's	72	12	3	13	(211)	(152)	(59)
St. John's	78	13	4	5	(215)	(168)	(47)
St. Luke's	79	13	2	6	(59)	(47)	(12)
*Trinity							
Negroes	84	11	2	3	(113)	(95)	(18)
Whites	82	9	2	7	(115)	(94)	(21)

Note: The answer "much" is indicated by a "+" sign, all other answers or no answer by a "-" sign.

TABLE 1a--CHAPTER VI

<u>"How much help is your church membership to you in the following areas of your life?"</u>							
	St. Peter's (339)	Trinity (231)	Zion (256)	St. Matthew's (301)	St. Mark's (211)	St. John's (215)	St. Luke's (59)
<u>Percentage of respondents who say "much" to:</u>							
In helping me to know of God's love and care for me	81	83	81	80	72	78	79
In meeting the right kind of people	55	37	45	45	31	31	36
In bringing my family closer together	62	55	54	57	53	46	32
In making right decisions in my business	36	38	30	39	28	28	32
In making me aware of the needs of others in my community	53	47	41	47	42	35	37
In helping me to under- stand people of different cultures and races	44	64	48	38	42	36	40
In strengthening my faith	81	80	77	78	66	71	70
In broadening my under- standing of the meaning of life	74	74	74	67	58	60	71

TABLE 2--CHAPTER VI
CHARACTERISTICS OF "PERSONALLY SATISFIED" RESPONDENTS

Percentage of respondents who express personal religious satisfaction							
	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
Men	79	79	74	72	65	69	70
Women	83	85	85	83	76	82	84
Up to 50 years old	82	79	82	79	75	78	78
Over 50 years old	80	92	80	81	70	75	79
Less educated	84	84	82	81	66	79	81
Better educated	77	83	80	80	77	76	77
Short-term membership	79	83	83	74	68	77	73
Long-term membership	82	82	80	82	73	78	81

Note: Total numbers for the categories in TABLES 2 and 3--CHAPTER II.

TABLE 3- CHAPTER VI
PERSONAL RELIGIOUS SATISFACTION AND PARTICIPATION

Personal religious satisfaction Total numbers	St. Peter's + (275)(64)	Trinity + (192)(39)	Zion + (207)(49)	St. Matthew's + (240)(61)	St. Mark's + (152)(59)	St. John's + (168)(47)	St. Luke's + (47)(12)
% of respondents who:							
<u>Attend Sunday services at least 3 times a month</u>	53 24	69 64	56 29	67 18	59 33	68 31	80 58
<u>Belong to one or more church organizations</u>	42 24	70 49	51 44	56 23	63 34	45 25	57 75
<u>Hold some responsible position</u>	19 5	41 23	37 19	32 13	33 15	34 15	44 67
<u>Like sermons</u>	84 78	80 51	84 50	82 61	67 34	48 27	73 42
<u>Feel they have a voice ... in congregation</u>	49 21	58 36	45 25	46 15	43 9	48 33	53 33
<u>Have close friends in congregation</u>	64 54	60 49	60 50	61 36	62 52	60 53	57 83
<u>Belong to one or more other organizations</u>	32 34	54 56	33 34	52 31	38 39	32 34	32 58

TABLE 4--CHAPTER VI
PERSONAL RELIGIOUS SATISFACTION AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS
INTEGRATION AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Percentage of respondents who:	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
<u>I. "No" to: "Do you think that your congregation should accept into membership persons of all races?"</u>							
among those who are personally satisfied	31	4	13	11	33	8	2
among those who are not personally satisfied	32	5	23	16	29	8	-
<u>II. Say church membership is of "much" help to understand people of different cultures and races.</u>							
among those who are personally satisfied	51	70	57	46	50	43	44
among those who are not personally satisfied	10	31	8	8	21	15	25
<u>III. Say the neighborhood of the church is "a nice place to live."</u>							
among those who are personally satisfied	15	73	46	8	3	28	33
among those who are not personally satisfied	10	69	36	8	3	20	31

Note: Total numbers for the categories in TABLE 1--CHAPTER VI.

TABLE 4--CHAPTER VI--Continued

Percentage of respondents who:	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
<u>IV.</u>							
<u>Say church membership is of "much"</u>							
<u>help to know of God's love and care</u>							
among those affected							
personally by problem	85	79	81	66	69	78	86
of different groups	(35)	(51)	(30)	(31)	(52)	(25)	(6)
living together							
among those not							
affected personally							
by problem of different	79	83	79	81	70	77	75
groups living together	(235)	(138)	(172)	(207)	(95)	(141)	(39)
<u>V.</u>							
<u>Say church membership is of "much"</u>							
<u>help to understand people of</u>							
<u>different cultures and races</u>							
among those affected							
personally by problem	37	63	35	36	34	44	86
of different groups	(15)	(41)	(13)	(17)	(26)	(14)	(6)
among those not							
affected personally							
by problem of different	44	65	49	38	45	35	35
groups living together	(132)	(107)	(108)	(98)	(61)	(64)	(18)
<u>VI.</u>							
<u>Say church membership is much</u>							
<u>help in knowing God's love and care</u>							
among those who feel	84	79	77	81	82	67	92
loneliness personally	(51)	(41)	(43)	(75)	(47)	(31)	(12)
among those who do not	79	83	80	78	65	80	72
feel loneliness personally	(219)	(148)	(159)	(163)	(100)	(135)	(33)

CHAPTER VI

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN KINDS OF SATISFACTION: ASPECTS OF EFFECTIVENESS

So far, this study has dealt separately with four matters put before the respondents in the questionnaire: first, the job the pastor is doing; then, the job the congregation is doing in a general way; next, the job the congregation is doing on eleven specific problems; and finally, what their church membership is doing for the respondents personally. In this chapter we shall study the relationships between the four kinds of satisfaction. Our purpose is to make an estimate of which ones are similar or closely related and which ones more or less independent of the others, then to weigh the relative importance of these four aspects of satisfaction for the respondents, and, finally, to see what other attitudes and opinions are related to what kinds of judgments of satisfaction. We shall thus get a better understanding of what makes a congregation satisfactory in the eyes of its members and whether or not this attracts the members to the church. This, then, will indicate some of the conditions under which the new norm of social "effectiveness" has a chance of becoming accepted as satisfactory and what the price of acceptance will be, again in terms of membership satisfaction.

Satisfaction with Pastor and Congregation

In approaching the relationship between the four kinds of satisfaction, the first thing to note (see Graph and TABLE 1--CHAPTER VII) is that they are truly measures of different things. They do not vary together among the seven congregations in a fixed pattern, except for satisfaction with the pastor's job and satisfaction with the congregations. In the seventh congregation the difference between the two is much smaller, but still in the same direction. As the other variables show no such regularities from one congregation to another, we may say that these indicators combine in differing patterns in our seven cases.

There are three cases (St. Peter's, Trinity, Zion) where satisfaction with pastor and congregation is relatively high and four cases (St. Matthew's, St. Mark's, St. John's, St. Luke's) where it is relatively low. Satisfaction with the pastor's job is higher than satisfaction with the job of the congregation in all cases.

But not all respondents who think the congregation is doing a "very good" job think well of the pastor too, though in all seven congregations the group which is critical of the pastor but satisfied with the congregation is the smallest. On the other hand, the number of those who are satisfied with the pastor but dissatisfied with the congregation is the second largest in all seven cases. The decisive difference between the two types of congregations, the "satisfied" and the "dissatisfied" ones, is that in all three "satisfied"

congregations the largest number of respondents is satisfied with the pastor as well as with the congregation and in all four "dissatisfied" cases the largest number is dissatisfied with the pastor as well as with the congregation. (See TABLE 2--CHAPTER VII.)

These largest groups form equally big proportions in the two extreme cases: in St. Peter's the doubly satisfied respondents are 69%, in St. Luke's the doubly dissatisfied respondents are 68%. We have, however, noted before that the "dissatisfied" cases St. Matthew's, St. Mark's and St. John's, are not true opposites of the three satisfied cases, for their attitudes are, in the aggregate, somewhat mixed or intermediate. Their doubly dissatisfied majorities are not as big as the doubly satisfied majorities of the three satisfied congregations and they show sizable proportions of doubly satisfied respondents (26%, 23%, 19%), while the satisfied congregations have only a few doubly dissatisfied respondents. The term "dissatisfied" as applied to congregations is thus to be understood only relatively.

What we may deduce from these findings is, first, a new confirmation of the well-known authority the pastor has in Lutheran churches. Even if things are obviously not going too well, as in St. Matthew's, St. Mark's and St. John's, 28%, 29%, and 28% of the respondents blame only the congregation and not the pastor for it. And in the happy congregations, whatever criticism there is is first directed against the congregation.

Second, we may say that the great majority of respondents cannot or will not distinguish the "job" the pastor is

doing from the one the congregation is doing, or, to put it differently, for them the pastor's success or failure in doing his job is what counts most in determining whether or not the congregation is doing a good job. To draw fuller conclusions of this kind from our data we need a simple measure of the degree of association between different factors within each congregation. TABLE 3--CHAPTER VII shows the contingency coefficients "Q," that is, measures of association between the four kinds of satisfaction.¹ As might be expected, association is closest between satisfaction with pastor and satisfaction with congregation in all cases. Thus, according to our respondents, it is the pastor's performance which determines the satisfaction of the congregation. Neither of the other two aspects of satisfaction is so closely related to the rating of the congregation's job; nor is any other variable which could be tested. There is, strictly speaking, no way of ascertaining which is cause and which is effect in a one-shot survey. I assume, however, that, since the pastor's performance is easier to judge than the performance of an uncertainly defined entity, "your congregation," and, further, judgment of his performance is possible even for those respondents who visit the church but twice a year, opinion about the pastor is formed first and opinion about the congregation second, often, though not always, as a reflection of the former opinion.

¹In this instance the table shows the relative frequency with which the same respondent answers both of each pair of questions either favorably or unfavorably.

Third, in view of this and of the small numbers who are satisfied with the congregation but dissatisfied with the pastor, it is difficult to imagine any congregation doing a good job in the eyes of its members while the pastor is not very successful in doing his. Yet there is such a case, namely, St. Luke's. It has the highest rate of wholly dissatisfied members, the lowest rate of people who judge the pastor favorably and the congregation unfavorably, and the highest rate of people who judge the pastor unfavorably and the congregation favorably. (See TABLE 2--CHAPTER VII.) We know (cf. Chapter III, p. 122), of course, that the sample of respondents from St. Luke's is biased in favor of the anti-pastor faction. But the case should not be dismissed on that account. There are circumstances in which the usual relationships between satisfaction with pastor and satisfaction with congregation do not hold. Such circumstances are found in St. Luke's: the pastor is part-time, has lost the authority normal to Lutheran pastors (even to not very popular ones) and certain lay leaders, seeing themselves and seen by others as "the congregation," have taken over that authority. Naturally, the case is a rare one, which gives point to the usual connection of satisfaction with pastor and with congregation.

The relationship between satisfaction with the pastor and satisfaction with the congregation will be considered again when we examine the correlates of each of the four kinds of satisfaction and how they compare with each other. Next, however, we shall turn to what we have called personal

religious satisfaction and its relation to satisfaction with pastor and with congregation.

Personal Religious Satisfaction and Satisfaction with Pastor and Congregation

Personal religious satisfaction is given by answers to the question: "How much help is your church membership to you in the following areas of your life? - In helping me to know of God's love and care for me." A look at the graph or at TABLE 1--CHAPTER VII shows that this variable is characterized, in contrast to satisfaction with pastor or congregation, by the fact that the rate is very similar in all seven cases, including the satisfied as well as the dissatisfied congregations. It is thus largely independent of the judgment of pastor or congregation. This can also be seen in TABLE 3--CHAPTER VII: the measures of association, "Q," which relate personal religious satisfaction to either satisfaction with pastor or satisfaction with congregation are very low in the dissatisfied congregations ($Q = .142$ for personal religious satisfaction and satisfaction with pastor in St. Matthew's) and they vary a great deal among the congregations, showing no general pattern. In some congregations the association of personal religious satisfaction with satisfaction with pastor is closer, in others the association with satisfaction with congregation.

If the high rate of personal religious satisfaction in the "dissatisfied" congregation shows that this variable can be independent of the judgment of pastor and congregation, this does not mean that they are not sometimes associated.

Respondents who are satisfied with the pastor tend to be personally satisfied, respondents who are satisfied with the congregation also tend to be personally satisfied and vice versa in both cases. (See TABLE 4--CHAPTER VII.) These associations are, however, close or fairly close only in the three "satisfied" congregations, where satisfaction is general, and, interestingly, in dissatisfied St. Mark's. Here, in contrast to the three other "dissatisfied" congregations, we find that of those respondents who are dissatisfied with the pastor a considerably smaller proportion finds personal religious satisfaction in belonging to the church than among those satisfied with the pastor (59% as against 84%). This fact makes St. Mark's rate of personal religious satisfaction the lowest among the seven cases (72%). Since all we know about St. Mark's points to the crucial role of the pastor, we may assume that in this case an unfavorable attitude towards the pastor comes before feeling little helped by belonging to the church. But this does not mean that the same causal relationship can be assumed for the other congregations; nor does it necessarily mean that a favorable attitude towards the pastor is likely to precede in time a feeling of personal religious satisfaction. After all, it is the normal thing in all seven cases to feel that membership in the church is a help in knowing of God's love and care and even in St. Mark's the rate of personal religious satisfaction (72%) is far above the rate of satisfaction with the pastor (51%). At most, then, the latter can only partially cause or explain the former.¹

¹The same argument applies to the relationship between personal religious satisfaction and satisfaction with

The contrast to St. Mark's--and to the "satisfied" congregations--is furnished by St. Matthew's, where attitudes towards the pastor and personal religious satisfaction have very little influence on each other ($Q = .142$), and attitudes towards the congregation and personal religious satisfaction not much either ($Q = .345$). In St. Matthew's, it seems, the congregation can do without its present pastor and does not pay much attention to him. This judgment of the situation has emerged from our prior analysis also.

We should thus say that satisfaction with the pastor and personal religious satisfaction mutually reinforce each other, but that an unfavorable attitude towards the pastor may either lead to a loss of trust in and reliance on the church, or to opposition towards the pastor without much loss of personal religious satisfaction. The latter situation is likely to develop in well established, well integrated congregations where personal religious satisfaction is on a high level to begin with, but it may also be just a preliminary stage to the former. We shall return to this problem.

There are also groups of respondents who are satisfied with the pastor (or even with the pastor and the congregation) and not satisfied personally. It is not possible to say why 16%, 14% and 13% of the respondents of St. Peter's, Trinity,

congregation, not only in St. Mark's but also in St. Luke's. In the latter case, we know that satisfaction with the congregation is relatively strong and partially independent of satisfaction with the pastor. It is, however, far too low (20%) to cause or to explain the rate of personal religious satisfaction (79%).

and Zion should, at the same time, rate the job their pastor is doing "very successful" and feel that belonging to the church is not of much help to them.¹ One may speculate that they rate the pastor according to the consensus in the congregation without being enthusiastic about his religious leadership; or that they feel they do not need to belong to the church to know of God's love and care, that this knowledge is rather the basis for their membership; or a mixture of both. Respect or liking for the pastor is probably what attracts to the church some of those who do not get much help from it in their personal faith.

As to those doubly dissatisfied respondents, who rate the pastor as well as the congregation unfavorably, they are less often personally satisfied in the three "satisfied" congregations than in the dissatisfied ones; St. Mark's, again, is the exception (see TABLE 5--CHAPTER VII). This statement not only repeats earlier statements in reverse; it is also another instance where the relatively small unsatisfied minority in the "satisfied" congregations are farther removed by some characteristic from their satisfied fellows than is the comparable group in the "dissatisfied" congregations--where it is slightly in the majority.

We may, then, conclude that this variable, personal religious satisfaction, expresses a judgment of the church which constitutes a minimum requirement for church membership--at

¹For the "dissatisfied" congregations the figures are: 10% in St. Matthew's, 8% in St. Mark's, 7% in St. John's, 3% in St. Luke's.

least for the large majority of respondents. This is what the church means to these respondents: an institution which will help them to know of God's love and care, that is, strengthen their beliefs and reassure them. We can see that all seven churches are quite effective in this particular aspect of their job. The lowest rate of personal religious satisfaction is found, significantly, in St. Mark's, the congregation which was losing members rapidly at the time of the survey. But even here 72% of the respondents express satisfaction with the help they get personally from belonging to the church. We have here, then, the foundation (or one of the foundations, if we assume that others of importance are not covered by the questionnaire) on which membership loyalty is built and which, therefore, must also form the foundation for whatever other kinds of effective action are envisaged for the church.

Personal religious satisfaction functions, however, differently in "satisfied" and in "dissatisfied" congregations. In the former, satisfaction with pastor and congregation on the one hand and personal religious satisfaction on the other reinforce each other. Appreciation of the pastor may also hold members who do not feel that belonging to the church is of much help to them personally. In the "dissatisfied" congregations, on the contrary, personal religious satisfaction seems to be but little influenced by attitudes towards the pastor and the job the congregation is doing--and this must be so, for something has to compensate for these negative

attitudes if the congregation is to survive as a body. This, apparently, is what personal religious satisfaction does. It is least successful in St. Mark's, where it is more closely related to judgments of the pastor than in the other "dissatisfied" congregations. With this compensatory factor inadequate, we find St. Mark's showing again and again an especially dark picture in spite of the fact that it ranks only third lowest in the order of satisfaction with pastor and congregation. St. Luke's, on the other hand, where only 22% and 20% of the respondents judge pastor and congregation favorably, demonstrates that a congregation can survive on personal religious satisfaction alone. In this case, it seems, a close-knit, small and intimate social fellowship with a long tradition behind it, supported by active lay leaders and, so far, undisturbed by outside influences effects this personal religious satisfaction.

The personal and emotional religious aspects of the work of churches are not the focus of the "City Church Effectiveness Study," and it is for that reason that one is left wishing for more information than is available. The different functions assumed by the variable of personal religious satisfaction may point to changes in its meaning and content in different contexts; that is, we may, in fact, be dealing with several variables and not with just one. However that may be, people concerned with the social effectiveness of churches should obviously take into account the effectiveness of the church in its relations with the individual members and their

personal religious needs, for without that kind of effectiveness, there seems to be no basis for any other kind of effort.

Four Kinds of Satisfaction

We come now to the variable described as "satisfaction with the congregation's action on specific problems," or, for short, "satisfaction with specific action." This variable is measured by an index, which has been studied in detail in Chapter V and Appendix. The problems compounded in this index are contained in two series of questions in the questionnaire, "neighborhood problems" and "city problems." There are eight "neighborhood problems": juvenile delinquency, drug addiction, mental illness, slums, alcoholism, rapid increase in numbers of older people, overcrowding of public schools and race conflict. And there are three "city problems": loneliness, mixture of different people and moving population. The index is necessarily constructed in an arbitrary manner and the rates of "satisfaction with specific action" derived from it seem low when compared to the other rates of satisfaction. Such comparisons, however, can only be made if the arbitrariness of the index construction is kept in mind. The rates of satisfaction with specific action are rather to be compared with one another, congregation by congregation.

As the graph and Table 1--CHAPTER VII show, satisfaction with specific action would parallel the rank order of satisfaction with the congregation's and the pastor's job in the seven congregations, if it were not for the two cases of Trinity and St. Mark's, where satisfaction with specific

action is higher than the rate in the respective preceding cases. It rises especially high in Trinity. Both rises are caused by the fact that these congregations are racially integrated and that respondents therefore tend to give them credit for doing "a very good job" on the problem of race; the rises also express the very real preponderance of the integration problem over all the other specific problems and the concomitant awareness of the problem as ascertained throughout the analysis. Moreover, Trinity shows the highest rates of satisfaction for action on all other problems individually and St. Mark's keeps its lead for action on city problems collectively though it is surpassed by St. Matthew's in satisfaction with action on neighborhood problems.

TABLE 3--CHAPTER VII shows us something more. Our measure of association ("Q") between the general and the specific kinds of satisfaction with the congregation varies considerably among the six congregations for which it can be computed. (There are too few cases in St. Luke's.) Association is closest ($Q = .608$) in St. Mark's. This indicates again the fact, established by now, that in St. Mark's, where the racial problem is well in the open, respondents who rate the job of the congregation--and of the pastor--favorably are in agreement with the policy of integration and thus also tend to rate favorably the congregation's action on specific problems, including the race problem. Association is lowest in St. John's ($Q = .347$) and St. Peter's ($Q = .360$), indicating that none of the eleven specific problems is important for the way respondents judge the overall performance of their congregation.

The anomalous high association between satisfaction with the pastor and satisfaction with specific actions ($Q = .764$) in St. Peter's is explained by the fact that in this congregation all favorable opinion is concentrated on the dominant figure of the pastor so that other judgments appear to be only weaker reflections of satisfaction with his leadership. In the other congregations (with the exception of St. Mark's; see above), association between satisfaction with pastor and satisfaction on specific action is there, but it is not close. The same must be said for satisfaction with the congregation's overall job and its association with satisfaction on specific action in Trinity, Zion and St. Matthew's.

On the whole, the association between overall satisfaction with the congregation's job and satisfaction with what it is doing on specific problems is not as close as one might have expected. The idea that the specific problems exist and ought to be tackled does not seem to be fixed in the respondents' minds. As we have shown in Chapter V, a variable which intervenes between the association of the two kinds of satisfaction (and this applies, with minor exceptions, also to satisfaction with pastor) is the perception of problems in the neighborhood or the awareness that city problems affect the congregation. Many of the generally satisfied respondents are neither aware of problems nor of actions about them on the part of their church. In the two congregations, Trinity and St. Mark's, where the obtrusive race problem exists, rates of answers to the questions about specific actions go up. But, especially in the dissatisfied congregations, considerable

proportions of those satisfied with the congregation's specific actions are not satisfied with its overall job. (See TABLE 6--VII.) We can thus see that for many respondents the general question about the congregation's job does not evoke the specific problems enumerated later in the questionnaire; nor do the lists of problems always evoke the memory of what the respondent had said in answer to the earlier general question. As a rough test of "free association" in the minds of respondents, this result is of some interest.

But if the two kinds of satisfaction with what the congregation is doing (and also with what the pastor is doing) are not as closely related as one might have expected, they nevertheless are related. Respondents who rate the congregation's job in general (or the pastor) favorably tend to rate the congregation's specific actions favorably too; also, with the exceptions of Trinity and St. Mark's, rates of satisfaction with specific action parallel rates of satisfaction with the congregation in general, and the original division of the congregations into "satisfied" and "dissatisfied" cases still remains visible in the rates of satisfaction on specific action.

This, however, does not necessarily mean that even those respondents who give the same kind of answer to the general and the specific questions about the congregation's job think of the eleven problems in toto or individually as being part of the "all in all" job of the congregation. The observed association expresses rather a generally favorable or unfavorable attitude and the lack of full association expresses

uncertainty or unawareness of specific problems and actions, or it shows a definition of the congregation's job that does not include the specific problems. Thus, at this point, we can only say that judgments of what the congregation is doing about one or several specific problems may influence the judgment of the congregation's overall job (notable case: Trinity) and that the general judgment may produce a tendency to rate the congregation's action on specific problems (all or most) in the same way. But two countervailing tendencies also exist, both probably based on the attitude that the specific actions enumerated are not the congregation's real job: one, a great unwillingness to rate the congregation at all on specific actions and the other, an acknowledgment of the congregation's specific actions without the acknowledgment that this means also an "overall job" well done.

As to satisfaction with specific action and personal religious satisfaction, there is a low association between them, which is of no importance. There is perhaps an exception to this in the case of St. Mark's (see TABLE 3--CHAPTER VII): there, associations between all four kinds of satisfaction are relatively high, indicating the decisive division of the congregation into favorably inclined members and those about to withdraw.

The Four Kinds of Satisfaction and Their Correlates Compared

So far, we have studied the relationships between the four kinds of satisfaction measured by the questionnaire.

Next, we shall extend the comparison of the different kinds of satisfaction to their correlates, that is, to variables found in previous chapters to be related more or less closely to one or more of them. This further comparison may clarify still more the direct relationships between kinds of satisfaction.

Among the correlates are certain demographic variables. Summarizing the earlier findings, we may say that there is a small overall tendency for women to be proportionally more satisfied than men. This tendency is most marked--though still not big--for personal religious satisfaction, where it shows in all seven congregations. As women constitute from three-fifths to two-thirds of the respondents in the seven cases, this tendency, and the concomitant tendency to express satisfaction with specific actions of their congregations only about as often as the men do, weight the overall results somewhat in favor of large rates of personal religious satisfaction and small rates of satisfaction with specific actions. This then, is to be expected in city church life: women largely outnumber men; they are, on the whole, less aware of social problems than men are; and they tend less, therefore, to express satisfaction with what their church does about the problems, while they are more often ready to be satisfied with things in general. Thus more interest in social problems and, presumably, more social action could probably be generated if the churches managed to attract a greater proportion of men--as well as of younger and better educated people of both sexes.

But a change in emphasis from the traditional ministry to the individual soul in the congregation to a novel reformism in the social community around the church without a simultaneous change in the membership is most difficult. This is exemplified by the most successful social action case among our seven congregations, that of integrated Trinity. The successful change was accompanied by a turnover of over half the congregation, which brought in an unusually high proportion of younger and of better educated members, although the sex ratio remained the usual one. This may also be seen as one hopeful sign for a future social action policy in the churches: younger, better educated women may not perpetuate the pattern found at present among their less well educated sisters.

Age by itself was found, in earlier chapters, to influence satisfaction with the pastor and with the congregation's job variously, depending on the one hand on its conjunction with long-term or short-term membership and on the other on special circumstances in the congregation, especially on the age of the pastor and the length of his service with this congregation. These latter circumstances also influence whether long-term or short-term members tend to be more satisfied. More education seems to make people a little more critical of the congregation's job and yet a little more inclined to applaud specific actions of the congregation.

Neither age, nor length of membership, nor amount of education seem to have pronounced or clear-cut influence on personal religious satisfaction. This study, therefore, does

not uphold the popular notion that older, less educated (and at the same time usually poorer) people cling to the personal and emotional side of religion more than other church members do--but it does uphold the popular notion about women.

These tendencies, or indications of tendencies, emphasize the fact established above in this chapter that the four kinds of satisfaction have different functions in the congregation and that one can, to a certain degree, compensate for lack of others. The comparison of demographic correlates of the four kinds of satisfaction also shows that the dilemma of the city churches--which want to hold their old members while trying to attract new members of a different kind--is partly inherent in the present composition of their membership according to age, sex, education and length of membership. A revolution with large-scale turnover of membership as in Trinity is clearly not a solution in all cases. But, even within the confines of similar patterns of membership composition, a considerable variety in the achievement of satisfaction among the members is evident. What, then, are the characteristics most closely related to satisfaction?

In earlier chapters we have found that, with some important exceptions, active participation in the life of the congregation is associated with satisfaction. The exceptions are found mostly in the two congregations with an organized opposition to the pastor, where dissatisfied members are relatively active in church organizations and as officers of the congregation. These special situations in St. Matthew's and St. Luke's also show in the relationship between satisfaction

with pastor and frequency of church-going. In general, however, frequency of church-going (which is the simplest measure of active participation) is associated rather closely with all four kinds of satisfaction. In six out of seven cases, the association is strongest between personal religious satisfaction and frequent church-going. The exception is Trinity, where frequent church-going is most closely related to satisfaction with the pastor, a very variable association in the other congregations. Also variable is the association between frequent church-going and satisfaction with congregation: although respondents who think the congregation is doing a good job tend to go to church more often than the others, the differences are sometimes small and, in the case of St. Matthew's, even reversed. But, as we have already shown previously, respondents who are satisfied with the congregation's action on specific problems are a select group and they definitely tend to go to church more frequently than the dissatisfied majority in all seven cases.

It is likely that frequent church-going is a prerequisite for becoming aware of the problems in the neighborhood of the church and for approving whatever is done about them--that is, with the exception of the two integrated congregations where approval of the integration policy is likely to be a prerequisite for frequent church-going. Satisfaction with pastor or congregation probably strengthens the existing habit of church-going which, however, has to survive on other grounds among the dissatisfied respondents. One such reason (as was shown in Chapter III) is that respondents like the pastor's

sermons very well although they do not think much of him otherwise. This is the case especially in St. Matthew's and St. Luke's and, to a lesser extent, also in St. Mark's. On the other hand, if those who like the pastor's sermons very well go to church frequently, their general satisfaction--so far as it exists--will be strengthened. We find that personal religious satisfaction, frequent church-going and liking the pastor's sermons also influence each other. Personal religious satisfaction is associated with frequent church-going and with liking the sermons and we may assume that enjoyment of the sermons strengthens the habit of church-going as well as personal religious satisfaction, which mutually reinforce each other. But enjoyment of the sermons does not "explain" personal religious satisfaction; it only strengthens it. The example is St. John's (whose pastor gets the lowest rating for his sermons), where 71% of the respondents who do not like the sermons very well are still personally satisfied (as against 86% of those who like the sermons).

As an indicator of participation we also use answers to the question, "Do you feel that you have a voice in shaping the policy and program of your congregation?" Predictably, we find affirmative answers to this question related to all kinds of satisfaction in all seven congregations (with two unimportant exceptions). The association is closest in St. Mark's, where the question whether or not members had a voice in determining the policy of integration is a sensitive one. Again, we find that personal religious satisfaction is most closely and most often related to the feeling of participation

in policy-making. Satisfaction with specific actions comes next, while there is a lot of variation as between congregations in the closeness of association with satisfaction with pastor and with congregation.

Another variable, which we called 'social integration, was found previously to be associated with satisfaction. To measure 'social integration' we use the question, "Of your five closest friends, how many are members of the congregation?" taking the answers "four" or "five" as indicators of "high" integration. All four kinds of satisfaction exhibit, on the whole, less close relationships with social integration than with the two previous variables considered, and we may conclude that having close friends in the congregation is not an important factor in establishing satisfaction. In St. Luke's indeed the reverse is true: the dissatisfied anti-pastor group not only participates vigorously in the life of the church, it is also knit together by personal friendship.

Kinds of Satisfaction Reconsidered

It thus becomes evident that personal religious satisfaction does not generally and chiefly stem from close personal ties in the congregation and the social gratifications thus offered by churchgoing, but rather that it is associated with the comfort, inspiration and perhaps pleasure which the church service, the pastor's sermons and other church activities may offer. Active and emotional participation in the life of the church, with the concomitant feeling that belonging to the church is helping one to know of God's love and

care--that is, belief strengthened by participation in the cult--can thus compensate even for the recognized shortcomings of the pastor, including even his inadequacy as a preacher, as the case of St. John's shows. It seems, then, that in the personal religious kind of satisfaction we have an indicator of how well the church performs its function as a place for a common ritual, strengthening the individual's beliefs, while giving him a sense of participation.

No further clarification on satisfaction with the pastor comes from the analysis in this chapter. The paramount importance of the sermon and the other factors, especially his qualities as a leader of men, which enter into the respondents' judgment of him, have been dealt with in Chapter III. It would be useful to know more about the factors which enter into the judgment of the congregation's overall job. But present possibilities of analysis seem to be exhausted and this chapter has not added significantly to our knowledge of that matter. Only detailed questions about what the respondents consider the job of the congregation to be would throw light on the problem and serve to separate those interested in social effectiveness from those who are uninterested and those who are consciously opposed among the satisfied as well as among the dissatisfied respondents.

Satisfaction with the congregation's action on specific problems has its special relationship with perception of problems, as shown in Chapter V. But, apart from that, we have seen that it is rather closely related to participation; especially, it is more closely related to the feeling of

participation in policy-making than satisfaction with pastor and congregation is. It thus appears that we may have here another kind of compensating satisfaction, although I am not prepared to make assertions on the strength of the present, quite inadequate data. It is, however, possible that this kind of satisfaction, or rather the kind of activity on which it is based, could attract and hold church-members primarily on its own merits. This is, of course, the assumption made by churchmen oriented towards social action. If the emotional gratification found by participating in the cult or in traditional church organizations can also be found in communal activities for the benefit of the neighborhood, then a social action program could get on its feet. So far, however, our data show that only a small, rather special elite of participating church members is at all interested--an elite who do not necessarily follow the leadership of the pastor, or like what the congregation is doing in general, or feel personally satisfied. And it is a possibility, though we have no way of telling that their interest in particular social problems--notably racial integration--comes before their interest in other functions of the church. (Omitted from these considerations are those respondents who declare their satisfaction with specific actions without being aware of any problems calling for such actions.)

We can say, then, that from the members' point of view it is not necessary for a Lutheran city congregation to have a social action program, a program to deal with the problems

of the city and the neighborhood. The low rates of satisfaction with specific actions even in the generally "satisfied" congregations and the independence of basic, personal religious satisfaction from it demonstrate the expendability of satisfaction with specific community actions. This remains so while no pressing social problem forces itself upon the church from the outside and so long as the church has not yet, for some other reason, instituted a program of social action. If the church has such a program, satisfaction with it becomes essential for the functioning of the organization, or it will become the reason for general dissatisfaction. If a problem has impressed itself upon the consciousness of the members, failure to act or to act adequately also becomes a reason for general dissatisfaction. But there is no sign that the idea of social effectiveness of the church--of the duty of city congregations to reach out into their neighborhoods as agents of social improvement--has penetrated to more than small and rather special groups in the congregations except in the cases of the two racially integrated congregations.

It is in these two congregations that satisfaction with specific action is highest, at least if we consider only "informed satisfaction." The rates (first presented in Chapter V) are the following:

Respondents who are problem-conscious and
satisfied with specific action

St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
11% (37)	34% (78)	9% (24)	12% (35)	17% (36)	2% (5)	2% (1)

We know that the rate is not high enough in St. Mark's, that the congregation is losing members rapidly and is generally dissatisfied. We know that the rate is sufficient, for the moment, at Trinity, a proud and successful congregation. But we know also that Trinity too is essentially unstable, dependent on the personality of the pastor and a continuing sense of mission. The survey caught Trinity and St. Mark's at different stages of a somewhat--though by no means wholly--similar revolution. Their evidence suggests that perhaps nothing short of an unmistakable change in the environment of the church, which forces a revolutionary change upon the congregation itself, will produce the sense of social responsibility anticipated by the series of questions on awareness of problems and satisfaction with action about them. If this is so, the price for getting the new norm of social responsibility and effectiveness accepted among ordinary church members is high.

TABLE 7--CHAPTER VII shows the percentage of respondents in each congregation who are satisfied on all four counts or totally dissatisfied. By this criterion Trinity comes out on top of the "satisfied" congregations with the highest percentage (34%) of members who have responded favorably to all four measures of satisfaction and who thus rate their church highly in every respect. St. Mark's, on the other hand, shows the highest proportion (19%) of members who are not satisfied in any way. These people still considered themselves to be members of St. Mark's inasmuch as they were willing to fill out the mail questionnaire, but we may assume that they were the

next to leave the congregation. Their discontent is the price St. Mark's is paying for its policy of racial integration. Nor does the relatively high satisfaction with this social program offset the discontent it causes: all three other rates of satisfaction are depressed by it. Since the congregation is losing members, it seems that its rate of personal religious satisfaction (72%) must have reached a low level for a congregation which wants to stay alive. Inner collapse does not seem to threaten if satisfaction with specific action is practically non-existent or if satisfaction with the pastor and congregation sink low, even as low as in St. Luke's. In the latter case, the congregation may be threatened by a slow death due to lack of new recruits to replace old members who die, but not with rapid disintegration.

We find, then, that of the four kinds of satisfaction which we were able to measure, personal religious satisfaction --the kind that comes closest to representing the traditional form of individual faith strengthened by communal worship--is the one necessary for a congregation to live; that satisfaction with pastor and congregation may vary a great deal, depending on circumstances, without causing a breakdown of the congregation; and that action on social problems is not necessary to a congregation's satisfaction with itself, but that if there is such action, satisfaction with it strongly influences general satisfaction.

Seeing all this in terms of effectiveness, we may conclude that churches must satisfy some basic personal religious needs of their members, but that they have a lot of leeway in

how this is to be achieved. Neither the pastor nor the congregation need to be judged particularly effective by the members. Especially, they need not be judged to be effective in dealing with the social problems of the neighborhood. This situation changes completely, once these social problems have intruded themselves upon the consciousness of the congregation: now, effectiveness in dealing with them becomes important, but the question remains what the right way to deal with them is considered to be by various groups in the congregation. Without a complete revolution accompanied by a large turnover of membership, agreement on the right way may not be achieved--at least we have no such case among our seven cases.

If, then, we consider how the new norm of social responsibility and effectiveness fares in these seven cases, we must conclude that there is only one case (Trinity) in which it fares well at the time of the study, and that after a high price has been paid. Nor is a new stability achieved in this case. In another congregation (St. Mark's) the effort to introduce the new norm has led to division within the congregation and a process of disintegration which may or may not be stopped in time to achieve the kind of precarious balance achieved by Trinity. For it is obvious that, if the recruitment of new members from the neighborhood of the church, in these cases of Negroes, goes on and the withdrawal of the old, the white, members goes on too, a point will be reached where the church is again a neighborhood church, as it once was, serving exclusively the people who live around it. Such a development is not to be desired from the viewpoint of the

denomination if it releases the old, better-off members from responsibility for the newer and poorer members before they are able to financially and organizationally to keep the church going. But what is desirable or even necessary from the viewpoint of denominational administrators need not be so from the viewpoint of ordinary church members--as we have seen.

TABLE 1--CHAPTER VII
FOUR KINDS OF SATISFACTION

-
- I. "How much help is your church membership to you in the following areas of your life?" - "In helping me to know of God's love and care for me."
- II. "How would you rate the job that your pastor is doing from an all around point of view?"
- III. "All in all, how good a job do you think your congregation is doing?"
- IV. Index of rating of congregation's job concerning (11) specific problems of the city and neighborhood. (Cf. Chapter V.)

	I.	II.	III.	VI.
	"Much"	"Very successful"	"Very good job"	Good rating
	%	%	%	%
St. Peter's	81	93	70	24
Trinity	83	91	64	47
Zion	81	85	62	19
St. Matthew's	80	55	33	15
St. Mark's	72	51	28	19
St. John's	78	48	24	6
St. Luke's	79	22	20	2

TABLE 2--CHAPTER VII
SATISFACTION WITH PASTOR AND CONGREGATION

Distribution of combined ratings
of pastor's and congregation's
jobs as high (+) or low (-)

Percentage of respondents who rate:	Pastor + Congr. +	Pastor + Congr. -	Pastor - Congr. -	Pastor - Congr. +	Total number
St. Peter's	<u>69</u>	24	5	2	(336)
Trinity	<u>63</u>	29	6	2	(228)
Zion	<u>59</u>	27	11	3	(255)
St. Matthew's	26	28	<u>39</u>	7	(299)
St. Mark's	23	29	<u>43</u>	5	(206)
St. John's	19	28	<u>48</u>	5	(215)
St. Luke's	10	12	<u>68</u>	10	(59)

TABLE 3--CHAPTER VII
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FOUR KINDS OF SATISFACTION

Measures of Association (Contingency Coefficients = Q) between the four variables measuring "Satisfaction"								
Satisfaction with	St. Peter's Q	Trinity Q	Zion Q	St. Matthew's Q	St. Mark's Q	St. John's Q	St. Luke's Q	
Pastor, Congregation	.773	.781	.746	.675	.731	.751	.702	
Pastor, Spec. actions	.764	.489	.504	.439	.685	.442	--	
Pastor, personal-rel.	.577	.495	.607	.142	.584	.375	.176	
Congregation, personal-rel.	.469	.595	.671	.345	.492	.287	.561	
Congregation, Spec. actions	.360	.530	.521	.502	.608	.347	--	
Personal-rel., Spec. actions	.436	.391	--	.316	.536	.243	--	

PERSONAL RELIGIOUS SATISFACTION AND SATISFACTION
WITH PASTOR AND CONGREGATION

Percentage of respondents who:	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
<u>Say pastor's job is very successful</u>							
among those who are personally satisfied	95	93	89	56	59	52	22
among those who are not personally satisfied	84	82	67	49	28	33	17
- - - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Are personally satisfied</u>							
among those rating pastor very successful	83	85	85	82	84	84	83
among those not rating pastor very successful	57	65	58	77	59	71	78
- - - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Say congregation is doing a very good job</u>							
among those who are personally satisfied	74	69	70	36	32	27	24
among those who are not personally satisfied	51	36	31	21	14	17	8
- - - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Are personally satisfied</u>							
among those who say congregation is doing a very good job	86	90	90	87	85	85	92
among those who think congregation is not doing a very good job	69	70	65	76	67	75	76

Note: Total numbers for the categories in TABLE 1--CHAPTER VI, TABLE 1--CHAPTER III, TABLE 1--CHAPTER IV.

TABLE 5--CHAPTER VII
PERSONAL RELIGIOUS SATISFACTION AND SATISFACTION
WITH PASTOR OR CONGREGATION

Percentage of respondents who:	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
Are personally satisfied among those who are:							
Satisfied with congregation, and pastor	87 (202)	91 (130)	91 (136)	87 (69)	87 (41)	88 (37)	83 (5)
Satisfied with congregation, not pastor	67 (4)	75 (3)	78 (7)	86 (18)	82 (9)	70 (7)	100 (6)
Not satisfied with congregation, satisfied with pastor	73 (60)	71 (47)	70 (46)	77 (66)	85 (50)	83 (50)	86 (6)
Not satisfied with congregation nor pastor	50 (8)	60 (9)	52 (15)	76 (87)	55 (49)	71 (72)	75 (30)
Differences between doubly satisfied and doubly dis- satisfied groups in rates of personal religious satisfaction in percentage points	37	31	39	11	32	17	8

TABLE 6--CHAPTER VII
RATING OF CONGREGATION'S JOB AND RATING
OF ACTION ON SPECIFIC PROBLEMS

Percentage of respondents who:	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
<u>Rate specific action highly</u>							
among those who rate congregation's job "very good"	28	58	25	25	36	10	-
among those who rate congregation's job not "very good"	15	30	9	10	12	5	2
<u>Rate congregation's job "very good"</u>							
among those who rate action on problems highly	81	78	81	56	54	38	
<u>Rate congregation's job NOT "very good"</u>							
among those who rate action on problems highly	19	22	19	44	46	62	100

Note: Total numbers of the categories in TABLE 1--CHAPTER IV, TABLE 1--CHAPTER V.

TABLE 7--CHAPTER VII
SATISFIED AND DISSATISFIED RESPONDENTS

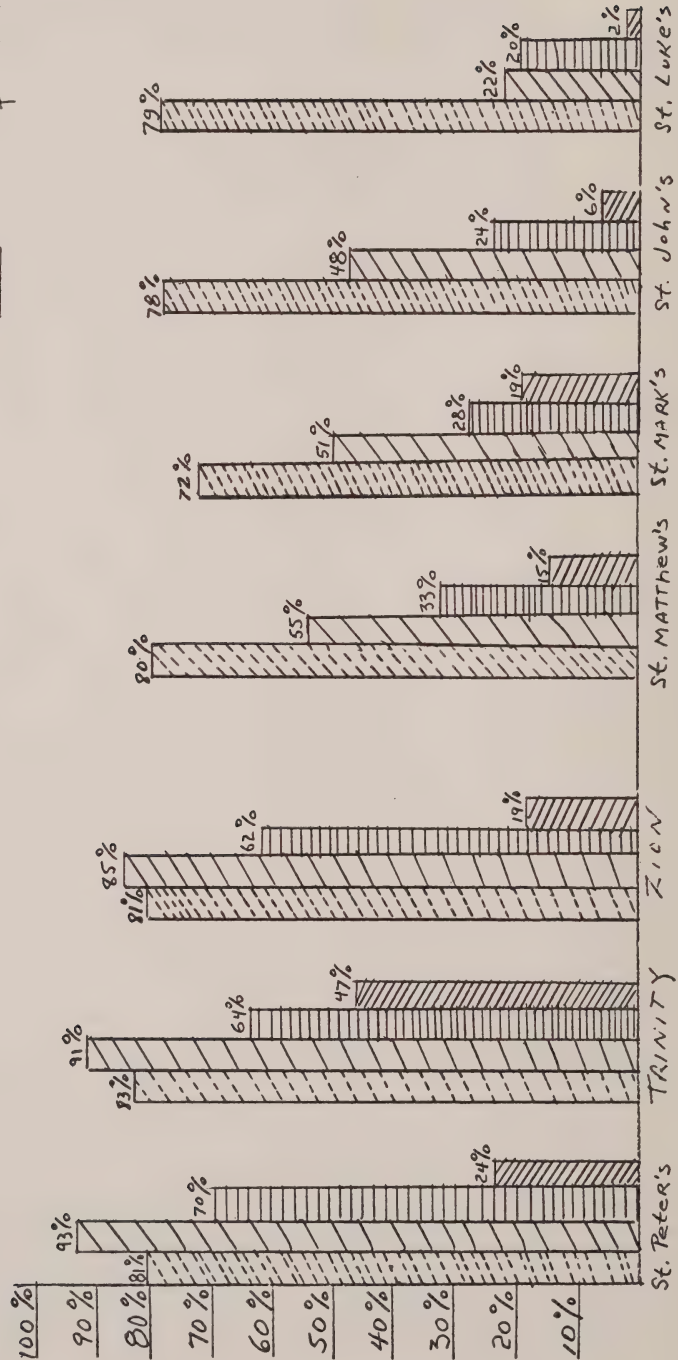
Respondents who are:

	Personally satisfied Satisfied with Pastor Satisfied with con- gregation Satisfied with specific actions	Not personally satisfied Not satisfied with Pastor Not satisfied with con- gregation Not satisfied with specific actions
	% (N)	% (N)
St. Peter's	18 (60)	2 (8)
Trinity	34 (78)	2 (4)
Zion	14 (37)	5 (14)
St. Matthew's	6 (19)	9 (26)
St. Mark's	8 (16)	19 (39)
St. John's	2 (5)	13 (29)
St. Luke's	0 (0)	17 (10)

FOUR KINDS OF "SATISFACTION"



- "Personal + religious satisfaction"
- "Satisfaction with pastor"
- "Satisfaction with congregation"
- "Satisfaction with spec. action"



CHAPTER VIII

SATISFACTION AND EFFECTIVENESS IN LUTHERAN CITY CHURCHES

We come now to the final task of relating the satisfaction of church members to the concept of effectiveness used by denominational leaders and envisaged as a new norm for city churches in danger of losing the bases of their existence and as a means of rescuing them.

In Chapter I the new norm was placed in the dual context of social thought in American Protestantism on the one hand and of Americanization of the Lutheran churches on the other. So appeared the dilemma of American Lutheran churches posed between their traditional norm of non-interference with the existing social order and the new norm of social activism largely accepted by other Protestant denominations in the United States. The dilemma is most crucial for Lutheran city churches. For them it is often seen as a matter of survival: one way for the churches to stay alive and self-supporting in inner city areas which are changing is to become active agents of social betterment and community centers, and thus to attract new members from their neighborhoods to replace the older members who move away and gradually lose interest. For this approach, the concept of "effectiveness" has come into use at denominational conferences and in the literature. Social

"effectiveness" is seen as highly functional for city churches by many Lutheran (and other Protestant) church leaders. The upshot of the foregoing analysis is, however, that only in one instance among our seven congregations (Trinity) the practice of the new norm of "effectiveness" has helped the congregation to survive. The other cases are in doubt. As for individual church members, they are partly ignorant of the new norm and, if not ignorant, they are reluctant to translate it into action. When forced to do so by a church leader in alliance with circumstances, only a few of the members find satisfaction in helping to implement the new norm, and this satisfaction is achieved only under the special conditions of a crisis in the neighborhood of the church. Even when achieved, this satisfaction is generally unrelated to the religious satisfactions that the church offers. For most of the individual members of the seven Lutheran city churches surveyed, social "effectiveness" serves no function or serves a function only under special conditions.

We thus have to consider the following problems: First, the divergence of the functions of "effectiveness" for the churches as organizations and for their individual members; second, the divergence of the functions of "effectiveness" for churches placed in different circumstances; third, the price paid for survival through the new norm of "effectiveness" in terms of changes in the organization, as well as in terms of cultural change; fourth, the possibility of finding alternatives to "effectiveness."

A divergence between the function a certain norm may have for a social institution and for individual members of the institution is, of course, not unusual. If sociological theories of religion assume--as they generally do since Durkheim--that institutionalized religion furthers the social control of individual members through a common system of beliefs and rituals, it is not assumed that the individual participates in institutionalized religion in order to be integrated into a social group; rather, he is assumed to participate because the institution offers him a pattern of rewards--he may get here and now in addition to rewards promised for the hereafter. But the special difficulty of "effectiveness" is that it disturbs and threatens these established rewards and concomitant satisfactions, and yet does not offer any visible new rewards instead of the established ones.¹

¹Of course, church leaders and theologians say that concern for the social impact of the church, that is, its effectiveness in its neighborhood, should be a consequence of personal faith and thus have the function of enabling the individual to express his faith--"to live by his faith." I do not exclude the possibility that some people are motivated by their religious beliefs to social action, but it seems improbable, on general sociological grounds, that such motives suffice alone for action--Luther himself estimated that there is "but one Christian among a thousand persons!" Accordingly, additional--social--motivation for church members seems necessary for effective social action by the churches. In theory, Christian churches cannot, by their very nature, offer other than transcendental rewards to the faithful, and Lutheran churches, in particular, cannot promise any rewards for good works, since these should follow inevitably from a state of grace. But in practice, indirect or secondary rewards of a social, non-transcendental nature do accompany the performance of religious duties. Such rewards are social approval, close fellowship with congenial people, increase in personal prestige, aesthetic pleasure, etc.; secondary motivation is provided if religious duties coincide with civic duties prescribed by secular ethics. In this context, we are concerned only with such social, non-transcendental rewards--and the concomitant social punishments--for actions of members of religious institutions.

Individual members do not ordinarily realize that a new means of survival in the city is required for their church. As we have seen, large majorities of the members of all seven churches find personal religious satisfaction in their membership. This seems to be their main reason for belonging to the church. It is the function the church has for them. Personal religious satisfaction and satisfaction with pastor and congregation, which often support it, are endangered by the appearance of a new norm. Any other change would also be disturbing, but a change in the over-riding "system of meaning," the introduction of a norm not only new but contradictory, cannot fail to be so.¹

The "Don't know" and no answer treatment which such large numbers of respondents gave to the survey questions particularly relevant to neighborhood effectiveness may, at least in part, be attributed to a defensive reaction against this disturbing intrusion. Of course, the vagueness of the concept may make it less disturbing. It can be applied in many different situations of urban change, even in different Protestant denominations. It can be formulated in a way which does not stress its novelty and its divergence from tradition. It can be interpreted by particular pastors and congregational leaders and by ordinary members so as to

¹A psychological counterpart to what is, on the level of social systems, Sorokin's theory of "systems of meaning" and "congeries" (cf. Ch. I) is Leon Festinger's Theory of Cognitive Dissonance, which states that in the human organism "there is a drive toward consonance among cognitions," that is, dissonance of one's thoughts, beliefs, actions--if recognized--is unpleasant. A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance, Evanston, Ill., 1957, p. 260.

reduce the tension or "cognitive dissonance" with traditional attitudes and beliefs. Still, our findings suggest that a vague sense of disturbance accompanies the answers to the survey questions implying that the church should have a policy for its neighborhood and its social ills.

But the situation looks quite different from the individual member's viewpoint once he has become conscious of a crisis in the neighborhood of the church. Now, a new norm concerning this crisis, a prescription for dealing with it, or, at least, for orienting oneself towards it, may fulfill a positive function. The norm of "effectiveness"--of the church's "outreach" into the neighborhood and of its responsibility for all the people there--can supply direction in situations of crisis and confusion. It is only in those two congregations (Trinity and St. Mark's) where a critical development in the neighborhood has forced a dramatic change upon the church, that satisfaction with the congregation's action in specific neighborhood problems becomes numerically important, and also important through its impact on other kinds of satisfaction. Thus, the new norm of effectiveness can, under special circumstances, find the support of considerable proportions of members because it has become functional for them individually. Then, conversely, lack of "effectiveness" will be dysfunctional to the individual members and cause dissatisfaction. But such critical situations seem to be less frequent than situations of slow, undramatic change, which do not force a decision between the disintegration

of the institution and the introduction of new norms, the re-ordering of values into a new hierarchy which differs from the old one.

The new norm of "effectiveness" has, however, serious weaknesses which hinder its acceptance by ordinary members and thus its implementation, especially before a crisis has developed, and which cause grave difficulties once it is accepted. Of these weaknesses, two have been treated and documented in Chapter I. They are the incongruity of social activism with basic Lutheran doctrine and tradition, and the vagueness and ambiguity of the concept of "effectiveness." The strength of conscious, reasoned orthodoxy and traditionalism among the respondents cannot be ascertained; all that is apparent is their general resistance to change, and that is, of course, strong. There is reason to believe that small groups of respondents have accepted the general idea of the church's responsibility for its neighborhood, but there is no evidence to show how far they or other respondents would go in defining such responsibility; instead, respondents show great uncertainty in answering the questions concerned and even refuse to answer them.

Another weakness of the aim of "effectiveness," also noticed in Chapter I, is that it requires the church to become, as it were, also a secular institution, and to become, in part, a supplement to other actually secular institutions. The pastor may urge religious reasons for doing even this, but, unattractive in itself to the members, it may well daunt

them by its economic and other, imponderable, implications: if government and philanthropic agencies, with the resources in money and experience at their disposal, cannot redeem the blighted areas of the inner city, imbue the inmates of housing projects with civic responsibility, alleviate the loneliness of people living in apartments, etc., is it likely that a church congregation, relatively poor and untaught in such tasks, can do so? Better, perhaps not to seek such a goal, even if there are religious reasons for doing so.

Further, our seven cases show that the introduction of the new norm of "effectiveness" exacts a high price in satisfaction of individual members and, consequently, in turn-over of membership. Trinity, which is so proud of its successful integration, has lost half its former White members. St. Mark's has lost more old members than it has been able to replace through new members from the neighborhood. The attitudes of substantial numbers of members of St. Peter's indicate that they, too, would leave their church should it ever accept Negro members. From our data we cannot tell what the acceptance of considerable numbers of other new members of different ethnic or class background would effect, but we may assume that all new and different elements in the membership would hasten the exodus of those old members who are no longer closely attached to the church or its neighborhood.

The turnover in membership furthered by the implementation of the norm of "effectiveness" also puts a heavy burden on the remaining old members. They are not asked to preserve

the church for themselves and people like them. They themselves have, in fact, often moved already to a new neighborhood. They are asked, then, to work for a gradual change, so that the church does not close up, remains self-supporting, is able to hand on its traditions to the new members, and preserves its identity. But this task demands that they take on a sort of caretaker role for an indeterminate time--not a very inspiring task in any institution. Moreover, for ordinary members the tasks implied by "effectiveness" mean chiefly financial sacrifices and adaptation to new, unwelcome social encounters in the congregation. A vicious circle is thus engendered: the more "effective" the church becomes in the neighborhood, the more it alienates its old members.

Not only is the role of caretaker in their old church unrewarding for members individually, it is directly dysfunctional for those of them who have moved away from the neighborhood since it hinders their adjustment or integration in their new social environment, that is, in the suburb in which they are likely to live now. The interviews show the plight of several councilmen, who no longer can go to church with their wives and children because the latter have joined a new church--presumably with the consent of the husband--while they feel bound to their old congregation through their church office. From the incomplete data at hand, holding an office in the congregation seems thus to provide a very strong motivation to stay, strong enough to counteract the pull of new human relationships and responsibilities in the new neighborhood. Holding an office has its own intrinsic rewards, but

by no means all old members can hold offices.

The bearing which the new norm of "effectiveness" has on the understanding of Lutheran doctrine and tradition by the church members cannot be deduced from the survey data, but the intensive interviews offer some information.

In Chapter I it was pointed out that social activism, as developed in the tradition of American Protestantism, is a foreign element in Lutheranism. Efforts have been made to integrate it into the theological system through reinterpretation of traditional doctrine.¹ More orthodox theologians stress the secondary, derived nature of social action out of "Christian responsibility." But for the ordinary church member, the fine points of theology are of no interest, whereas he cannot help knowing whether the pastor preaches about a personal Christian life, or "always talks about stewardship and integration." As "the social functions of an organization help determine the structure (including the recruitment of personnel involved in the structure),"² a church which becomes effective in its neighborhood through organizing clubs and community enterprises will attract the kind of people for whom this kind of activity is most important; these will, in turn, try to involve the church in even more community enterprises,

¹Cf., for example, Harold C. Letts (ed.), Christian Social Responsibility, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957, three volumes, and William H. Lazareth, A Theology of Politics, a pamphlet produced by the Board of Social Missions of the ULC, New York, 1960.

²Robert K. Merton, "Manifest and Latent Functions," Social Theory and Social Structure, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957, p. 82.

and so on, progressively. As the time, energy and emotional resources of human beings are limited, it might be expected that other activities, such as Bible study, Sunday School for adults, and other meetings for instruction will be reduced.

If new members are recruited who grew up in a church of another denomination or without religious instruction, requirements concerning knowledge of the church's doctrines and understanding of its ritual have to be relaxed, the more eager the congregation is to get the new members, and the greater the distance between Lutheran tradition and the tradition of their former denominations. To give an example from the satisfied, proud congregation of Trinity which integrated five years ago, a man who has been a member of the church for two years and is now on the council, answers the interview question, "What do you consider the principal doctrine of the Church?" as follows:

. . . church's participation in community affairs . . . and the democracy in the church. Do you mean religious doctrine? To me the principal doctrine of the Lutheran church is that all men have the right to worship in Lutheran churches and that they should go anywhere and feel at home in any Lutheran church or synod.

Though this answer is right in many ways, it is not the right answer to the question.

Ritual, without understanding, seems easier than doctrine to transmit to new members. This holds for religiously central, as well as marginal rituals. A woman who has been a member of Trinity for a long time and a Sunday School teacher talks about the new members thus:

Problem is to educate them into the ways of the church, purpose in the organizations, and so on. . . . Many of

the new members are anxious not to change the traditions. Ask, How has it been done? or What's the custom? For example, while it is not a lengthy tradition, new members feel Lucia Festival is an important tradition. Old members, seeing this as a Swedish festival, wonder why one should have it still. The new members like the pageantry of the festival and don't want to change the custom.

The ritual which the new members like so much is marginal from a religious point of view. The Lucia festival is celebrated in Sweden on December 13th every year. It is often believed to be of heathen origin. It is not necessarily a religious festival today; secular organizations, businesses, private families, as well as church groups, may select a blond young girl to be "the queen of light" and to appear in the ceremonies in a white gown with candles in her hair. In religious groups the Lucia celebration is usually a pageant with many traditional Christmas carols. That the new Negro members of Trinity want to preserve this ritual may be moving, but it is not likely to help them much in understanding the Lutheranism they have adopted.

It has been shown that the introduction of the new norm of "effectiveness" creates many new problems. It has also been shown that in a crisis precipitated by changes in the neighborhood of the church, a new orientation towards the problems of the neighborhood, that is, some appropriate form of "effectiveness," may become functional not only for the institutional survival of the city church, but also for the individual church members. For them the new orientation may dissolve a dilemma. The question remains whether there are

no alternatives to the new norm of "effectiveness," either on the institutional or on the individual level.

On the individual level the obvious alternative is adherence to traditional Lutheran attitudes and norms, even in a crisis situation which demands a conscious decision. The emphasis is then placed on the individual's relationship with God, that is, on his personal religious experience. From this there should follow, according to the teachings of the Church, acts of brotherly love towards his fellow men and acts of mercy. In traditional practice, this does not include the obligation to go out of one's way constantly to find opportunities for good works, but only the obligation to do the right thing when the occasion arises. If the neighborhood and the congregation change their character, there is no reason why a member should not transfer to a church nearer to his new home. (Perhaps the suburbs need the one Christian among a thousand as much, or more, than the slums need him--and who, but he in his own conscience, is to decide whether they do?)

It is clear from the survey data that a large majority of respondents in all seven churches belong to these churches because they fulfill their traditional function for them. This is the church's indispensable function for its member, giving him the fundamental experience of being strengthened in his faith through a familiar ritual performed in close community with his fellows. Without this experience, the church has nothing to offer which other institutions do not offer, too. It follows that a church which would place its

survival as an organization above the personal religious satisfaction of its members would not survive as a church, merely, perhaps, as a community center. It can also be said that churches which concentrate on those functions which only religious institutions can perform stand a better chance of holding their old members. If they move to new locations with their members, they need not change their basic character.

But what, then, about the "unchurched" areas in the inner city and the people there? An alternative to making the existing churches responsible for them is already widely practiced: it is mission churches supported by the denomination. Another possibility is to have mission churches supported by churches which were once located in the area, or by other more wealthy churches which take a special interest in "their" mission church as they sometimes do in a missionary they support in Africa and Asia. Other possible alternatives to the introduction of social "effectiveness" in the existing city churches might be discovered if a search were undertaken.

It is possible that an institution with a unified "system of meaning," a system of values and norms which rest on a long tradition, has as much appeal to potential recruits and as much chance of survival in a changing environment, as an institution which tries to adapt itself by turning in a new direction and, in so doing, becomes forgetful of the chief expectations of its members. At least, this possibility should be investigated before it is rejected.

Lutheran churches, surviving in the inner city by

adopting social activism and recruiting new members from the newcomers to the neighborhood, may finally remain Lutheran in name only and, perhaps, in their liturgy and music. None of the pastors interviewed brought up this possibility which may be understood in the light of the fact that they all (with one conspicuous exception) see their problems in terms only of their own church, its members and its neighborhood. Such a combination of indifference and parochialism looks like a movement towards congregationalism, in which every church is not only free to organize as it pleases, but also free to interpret the scriptures as it thinks best and study them as much or as little as it wants to.

But, as we have seen, the forces of conservatism are still strong in Lutheran churches, even city churches, not to speak of rural and small-town churches. Whether these conservative forces will find spokesmen who can convince and attract the younger generation, one cannot tell. At any rate, the proponents of social "effectiveness," the latest variation of the American Social Gospel, do not have much grass root support among Lutherans, not even among the members of inner city churches at whom the idea of "effectiveness" is especially directed. There seems to be little prospect of a change in the immediate future. The new norm of social "effectiveness" will not be widely accepted by church members if the link between the personal religious experience and social action is not strengthened through changes in the structure of the congregation, or, in other words, if "neighborhood outreach" is not made as satisfying in a personal

sense to church members as their established practices are. It is not easy for any church to establish such a link between traditional church practices and neighborhood action, and it is particularly difficult for Lutheran churches, since it may do violence to their heritage and identity.

STATEMENT ON METHOD

The Main Problems

The largest source of information for this thesis consists of questionnaire data which were collected by a church group without an explicit plan for analysis. The plan used here for the analysis of the questionnaire data and the other material is based, first, on what is of sociological interest in the subject matter and, second, on what gives intelligible results. The thesis is a "secondary analysis" which tries to make the best of existing data for a purpose defined after the data were collected. In the analysis are also included inferences from the mere fact that the survey was done at all and inferences based on the circumstance that some questions were included in the questionnaire, while others were excluded. The history of the collection of data is part of the analysis. Limitations of the data are the reason that the findings are more often suggestive than definitive statements which can be generalized.

The shortcomings of the questionnaire material (about which more below) and its novelty and promise are derived from the same facts: data were collected about twelve Lutheran congregations in big American cities, and questionnaires were mailed to the members of these congregations; thus data were provided on individual members of congregations

as well as on the institutions as such. This permits the analysis of individual behavior and attitudes in the context of particular social organizations and their particular "climates of opinion."

But there are only twelve congregations, selected unsystematically (see below). Statistical treatment of such a small number of units must be very limited since the differences between units cannot average out. Thus, it is not useful to divide these twelve congregations--or as many of them as are amenable to the procedure--into types. The purpose of typologies in sociological analysis is to order cases in such a way that important differences between them are explained by their inclusion in one or another type. If the differences within a type are more important than the similarities, the typology is only marginally useful, e.g. for descriptive purposes. No typology which would have been useful as an explanatory device could be found for the twelve congregations or for a selection from the twelve. Since congregations are complex organizations, sometimes with long and very special histories, it is not surprising that the differences between them are as important and as revealing as the similarities. Much the same would hold for an analysis starting by ranking the congregations according to any one criterion: such ranking is a descriptive device which does not throw enough light on ranking by other important criteria.

Actually, similarities between congregations are used for the elementary purpose mentioned, namely, to describe, to order and to group them (see below). But such groupings--

according to satisfaction with the pastor's or the congregation's job, according to problem consciousness, or according to kinds of prevailing problems--are in themselves phenomena which have to be explained; they do not explain conditions in the congregations. Nor can we generalize from our very varied "satisfied" congregations to all "satisfied" congregations, nor from our very varied "problem conscious" congregations to all "problem conscious" congregations.

With complex units selected unsystematically and with numbers of units as small as these, the method of analysis must be a comparison, a simple and direct comparison, of cases. Yet, for a direct comparison, twelve units are a large number, difficult and cumbersome to handle. In this case, the number of congregations to be compared was narrowed down to seven (see below). Seven is still an unusually high number of complex organizations to be compared; but it permits the demonstration of special conditions conducive to special results, the demonstration of dissimilarities, as well as of similarities, and thus a better understanding of both.

The Data of the City Church Effectiveness Study

The questionnaire data were collected in the Spring of 1957 for the City Church Effectiveness Study, sponsored by the National Council of Lutheran Churches in America (NCL).¹

¹At about the same time similar though not identical studies were made of Congregational and Presbyterian congregations. These and some other studies are coordinated through the National Council of Churches of Christ (NCCC).

Twelve congregations were chosen by denominational administrators according to a wide variety of criteria. All churches selected are situated in metropolitan cities. (The seven cases used here are in New York, Chicago, St. Paul and Philadelphia.) Different regions of the country are represented and also different Lutheran bodies and memberships of different ethnic backgrounds. Further, there is a variety of urban settings with different problems arising from change in the community and different responses to these problems by the congregations. The congregations vary in size, wealth and age. In short, the net was cast as wide as possible in the hope of catching all the most important characteristics of Lutheran churches in big cities. A decisive factor in the selection was, however, the willingness of the congregation and its pastor to participate in the study. In Chapter II, it is shown how the degree of willingness or unwillingness of the pastor or the congregation to cooperate has, in some cases, affected not only the return rates of the mail questionnaire, but also the results it shows. I have used this kind of information not merely to characterize the methodological accuracy of the figures, but also as an item that unwittingly reveals characteristics of the congregations. In all, the churches selected for the study are not a representative sample of Lutheran churches in America, of Lutheran churches in big cities, of churches with specific problems, or of churches of a particular type; they are individual cases.

Three kinds of data were collected by the NLC between late spring and fall of 1957.

I. The self-studies.

Each congregation had a "study director," usually a young pastor who did not belong to the congregation. Under his supervision, a committee of church members followed a self-study guide to provide data on the size and composition of the congregation, its organizations, finances, buildings, personnel, and on the neighborhood of the church. Class, racial, ethnic and age composition of the neighborhood are described and compared with the composition of the congregation.

The aim of the self-studies--to provide objective facts and figures established reliably and in the same way for all congregations--was not reached. Especially, the self-studies do not provide uniformly reliable information on the size and composition of the whole or of the active membership of the different congregations. Thus they cannot be used to check how far the returned mail-questionnaires are representative. The self-study guides presented difficulties to amateurs and were not always filled out completely or according to the same standards. The figures in the self-studies do not all pertain to the same year; some are for 1955, some for 1956 and some for 1957. Some churches do keep good records; some hardly keep records at all. A few churches do not make a distinction between "confirmed" and "communicant" members. (This was discovered after the completion of the self-studies.) Nevertheless, the return rates for the mail questionnaire (see TABLE 1 --CHAPTER II) are based on "active communicant" members, as in some churches the list of "confirmed" members is hopelessly

out of date and inflated by the inclusion of the names of people who were confirmed in this church, that is, took their first Communion there, never renounced their membership, but no longer go there for Communion. Moreover, very few non-communicant members have answered the questionnaire, so that it proved to be a small loss to leave them out.¹ For the description of the neighborhood in the self-study, some congregations took 1950 census data; others tried, with varying success, to get more recent data. The definition of what constitutes "the neighborhood" of the church presented a major difficulty. Thus, comparisons between the membership of the congregation and the population of the neighborhood are not very reliable.

For these and similar reasons, little use has been made of the self-studies in this thesis, except in Chapter II, which provides background material.

II. The intensive interviews.

In each congregation the study director or some other outsider interviewed the pastor following a guide for a "focussed interview." Further, in each congregation two members of the church, usually including one Sunday School teacher, an old member and a relatively new member.

These interviews provide a lot of factual information about the history and organization of the congregation and

¹Fifty non-communicant respondents were excluded: 16 in St. Peter's; 6 in Trinity; 6 in Zion; 11 in St. Matthew's; 3 in St. Mark's; 5 in St. John's; 3 in St. Luke's.

also a great deal of interesting gossip. They are, of course, very uneven, depending on the skill of the various interviewers and the willingness of the pastor to talk freely. The interviews, therefore, do not lend themselves readily to systematic use. I have used them mainly for illustration and sometimes for explanation of findings from the survey.

III. The mail questionnaire.

The study directors arranged to have a questionnaire sent to each "member" on the lists of the smaller congregations, to two-thirds of four larger congregations and to one-third of the largest one. The incoming questionnaires were checked off against numbered lists, or in other ways, and non-respondents got a second questionnaire. The questionnaire contains 86 questions, to which answer can be checked, and only a few write-in answers.

A difficulty with the mail survey is that no uniform bases for establishing return rates exist and that the return rates that can be established for each congregation vary widely. (See Chapter II for details on each of the congregations analyzed and TABLE 1--CHAPTER II.) As mentioned above, the membership lists kept by the churches are sometimes very much out of date, the criteria for listing members under various categories differ in the congregations, the educational levels of the members differ, and the cooperation or lack of cooperation of the pastor also influenced the return rates.

In our analysis, we are, however, not concerned with the opinions of purely nominal members of the churches. It is thus an advantage to have a selection of respondents

interested enough in their church to fill out the long, finely-printed and sometimes difficult questionnaire. Only members who indicated that they were communicant members of the church were included in the sample (see above). Questionnaires which were filled out only partially were not used.¹

Additional material.

Especially in Chapter I, minutes of meetings of the Department of the Urban Church of the National Council of the Churches of Christ and reports made at such meetings were used. These meetings were preparatory to studies of urban churches by several denominations. (The National Lutheran Council was the first to collect its data; studies done by Congregational and Presbyterian church organizations followed. The NCC has undertaken a comparative study of the data collected by these and other churches.) I took part in several such meetings after the field work for the NLC study had been completed in 1957. I also visited five of the seven churches treated in this thesis, obtained some annual reports, programs and the like, and talked with several of their pastors and members. Further background information was provided by the NLC.

Use of the Data

It is difficult to imagine an exhaustive analysis of the data collected for the City Church Effectiveness Study of the

¹Seventy-two questionnaires were excluded because they were filled out incompletely: 13 in St. Peter's; 10 in Trinity; 6 in Zion; 15 in St. Matthew's; 9 in St. Mark's; 10 in St. John's; 9 in St. Luke's.

National Lutheran Council. The first problems confronting the scholar are thus problems of selection. I have decided to focus attention on the evaluation of its own effectiveness by each congregation. The reasons for this selection are that the concept of "effectiveness" raised interesting theoretical questions (cf. Chapter I), that it was the original and chief concern of the sponsors of the study (who gave me a free hand in choosing my theme), that it seemed to be the concept most thoroughly treated in the questionnaire, and that the congregations divided most neatly into those which think of themselves as doing a good overall job--being effective in their own eyes, that is--and those which do not think they are doing such a good job. (If it be said that this is a division into two types, they are types for this one purpose only. Other single antithetic types may be set up likewise.)

Emphasis on the relationship of congregations with their social environment has decided the method of using the data. Two main approaches to an analysis of the data present themselves: one is the approach by organizations, taking the congregations as the units of analysis; the other is to consider the roughly 2700 respondents from twelve congregations together as an aggregate.¹ If social effectiveness is to be

¹The latter approach--in which the unit of analysis is the single respondent--has been taken by some of the researchers dealing with the City Church Effectiveness Study of the NLC and of other denominations. But the respondents from the twelve congregations combined are not a representative sample of a known universe (or even a sample with a known bias) and findings cannot be generalized. Furthermore, it is up to the scholar analyzing the data in this manner to show that the variables he uses and their relationships are in independent of

studied, congregations must obviously be the units of analysis, and individual respondents must be studied in the context of their particular congregations. In this way, the many factors which may or may not influence the congregation's relationship with its neighborhood and for which there are no adequate measures are held under control. It is true, however, that this approach in our case reduces the possibilities for multivariate analysis. Since the number of respondents is quite small in some congregations, they are usually divided into not more than two groups, according to the presence or absence of some attribute, e.g., of giving a high rating to the congregation's job. It is not often possible to do more than simple cross-tabulations of two dichotomized variables and to introduce as many qualifying variables as desirable. Comparing series of similar relationships within congregations and comparisons from congregation to congregation to some extent overcome these limitations. In the same way, a certain independence of the vagaries of data collection is achieved.¹ But,

(a) the size of the congregation [since the congregations vary greatly in the number of members and of respondents],
 (b) of the return rates [since return rates also vary], and
 (c) of other factors inside and outside the congregation which cannot be measured and therefore cannot be controlled for analysis.

¹The basis for this statement is detailed in Hanan Selvin, "Statistical Significance and Sociological Theory," paper read at the 1959 American Sociological Association meeting and dittoed by the Department of Sociology, University of California, December 1959. See also Selvin, "A Critique of Tests of Significance in Survey Research," American Sociological Review (22, 1957). Selvin also gives the reasons for the absence of tests of significance in this thesis which bases itself on "internal replications" instead.

although the units are small and were studied at about the same time with the same instruments, many of the difficulties that ordinarily beset comparative studies of social phenomena are present in this one. Conversely, the abundance of fruitful suggestions, usual in such studies, is also there.

At the beginning of this statement I have explained why comparison of individual cases is the method of analysis indicated here. But a direct comparison of twelve widely and unsystematically differing cases of complex organizations is too cumbersome to be practicable. A further selection was therefore necessary. I have chosen seven congregations for analysis according to two kinds of criteria: a) properties which exemplify general, unspecified effectiveness (or ineffectiveness) and b) methodological criteria. Thus, I have excluded congregations whose relationship to their neighborhood makes them exceptional even in this varied collection (e.g., an almost suburban church, a mission church which is only three years old, a church located in a business district where nobody lives) and two congregations for which a lot of vital information was lacking. I have included the church which I have called St. Luke's--although it is one of the smallest and, with a low return rate, has produced only 59 usable questionnaires--because it provides the case of extreme dissatisfaction and is otherwise of special interest. Thus I have three congregations which think, in a general way, well of the job they are doing and four which do not.

The analysis is based mainly on the questionnaire data, as said above. Efforts to overcome some of the limitations of the data are described in the text because they determine, in part, the form of analysis. Only three more points have to be made here.

The first point is that the questionnaires were not pre-tested. Some questions which seem to have confused the respondents have, therefore, simply been left unused, others have been used with caution. The chief difficulty arises from the fact that the authors of the questionnaire did not foresee--so it seems--the extent of apathy and uncertainty concerning two important series of questions about the church's relations with its neighborhood. Some of the questions in the series drew far more "Don't know's" and no answers than positive or negative answers. Yet, since respondents who did not answer whole pages of the questionnaire were eliminated, one may assume that all respondents looked at the questions, and that no answer is similar to a "Don't know." Both responses are meaningful in answer to the series of questions, as is shown in Chapter V. Where there is no prevailing norm among the respondents as to the 'right' answer to a question, many "Don't know's" and no answers are to be expected and, conversely, these responses indicate the absence of prevailing norms.

The second point is that, in view of the aforesaid difficulties, all statistical operations beyond the most simple ones are out of place. Only clear and repeated relationships between variables are considered as established findings--and

even then with reservations. No contingency coefficients are used in Chapters III to VI because none could be used for all measures (chiefly because the numbers are too small) and because they would add nothing to the findings from simple cross-tabulations of dichotomized variables.

The third point is that, for similar reasons, only two indices have been constructed--to summarize perception of series of specific problems and rating of the congregation's action on these problems (see Chapter V). Questions concerning these problems were framed with index construction in mind, all worded the same way or similarly and all pertaining to different aspects of the same matter, environmental problems. But other indices to summarize a number of similar findings have not been used. First, they would have obscured differences between congregations. (For example, the difference between mute, retreating opposition and active opposition groups would not have become clear if there had been a general index of participation in the life of the church.) Second, the small numbers of respondents and the sometimes lopsided distribution of attitudes among them generally permit only dichotomization of variables. Thus, there are, most of the time, only two groups of respondents in each congregation which are to be compared, and indices which would permit multi-point scales on which to range many groups of respondents simply do not apply. In order to be really useful, the more complex methods of analysis would have to have been built into the questionnaire.

If the data used here have many shortcomings, they nevertheless are worth analysis. No study of similar scope has ever been undertaken before among religious institutions. Especially, no systematic study of the varying interplay of common factors in several congregations is so far available. This lack of studies which might contribute to the explanation of our findings accounts for the omission of references in the text to related studies. The interested reader will find a review of such studies in the "Afterword" by Charles Y. Glock to Walter Kloeztli's book on the NLC study.¹ The bibliography to this thesis also lists such studies.

The usefulness of the approach adopted for this thesis will, of course, be increased if the comparisons are extended to congregations of other denominations.² Furthermore, the emphasis of the thesis on the congregations' relationships with their different environments has implications for the study of other, non-religious institutions in a changing environment. Also, the rich--though uneven--background material available provides a time dimension usually lacking in studies of this kind. The phenomenon studied can, first, be placed in a historical context (cf. Chapter I) and, second, different

¹The City Church: Death or Renewal, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1961, pp. 177-198.

²Analyses of the data collected by Congregational and Presbyterian organizations shortly after the NLC study have, up to this time, not been based on a comparison of congregations and therefore cannot show results comparable to our findings. The NCC is, however, working on comparisons between the data collected by different denominations. This work may show which of our findings are peculiar to Lutheran churches and which apply, to some degree, also to other Protestant churches.

stages of similar processes can be observed by comparison of some of the seven cases. This is especially true for the integrated congregations, Trinity and St. Mark's, whose annual reports show the turnover of membership for several years and who are caught by the study in different stages of a similar development.

Suggestions for Further Research

The conclusions drawn in this thesis are suggestions based on empirical evidence, but they cannot be considered findings that carry complete scientific conviction. The best use to which they could be put would be to base on them a re-examination of the assumptions underlying the movement of "church effectiveness in general," and the "Church Effectiveness Study," in particular, and further research aimed less broadly and executed with more precision.

Some questions shown to be important in our study but not sufficiently clarified by the evidence at hand are as follows.

How far have norms of social action for churches, that is, "effectiveness," have taken hold among church members? What enterprises do church members consider to be part of the church's task, what ones seem merely permissible, and what fall definitely outside the task of a religious institution? Further, which are given priority, traditional tasks or the new, social tasks? And which of the various social tasks have priority? Yet, further, what do people who theoretically accept the norm of "effectiveness" think about the allocation

of money, staff and members' time to the new tasks? What means of fulfilling the new tasks are approved of and what are not?

Who, in the opinion of the church members, should bear the responsibility for the social order, specifically for slums, or juvenile delinquency, or overcrowded schools, or neglected old people, or for the integration of immigrants and newcomers to the city? Are conservative Lutherans opposed to planned social reform as such, or are they merely opposed to the church's undertaking it?

Can a conscious religious orthodoxy--apart from unthinking conservatism or inertia--be detected and located among the church members? What, if anything, distinguishes Lutherans from other Protestants in the eyes of Lutheran church members?

What are the attitudes about recruiting new members? Could one establish a sort of "social distance scale" for people of different class, ethnic and religious backgrounds who are more or less welcome to the present members, and is there a point at which the wish to see the congregation strong and growing is superseded by the wish not to change the character of the membership too much?

With data on these questions and with background data comparable to the present ones, the chance that the new norm of "effectiveness" will be accepted at least theoretically by large numbers of church members could be gauged more clearly. (Of course, the pastor's attitude and his ability to make aims understood, as well as actual experience in the congregation

with efforts to become "effective," would have to be watched carefully, since they have been shown to be highly important.) It would, then, also become clearer whether or not renewed and strengthened emphasis on orthodox Lutheran tradition would evoke a stronger response among present members--and what response it would receive from new members, brought up outside the Lutheran tradition.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V

Indices of Perception of Problems and of Rating of Action on Problems

The series of questions concerning respondents' perception of the existence of problems which affect the neighborhood or the congregation and concerning the congregation's actions about these problems have various shortcomings, as we have seen. When telescoped into indices of perception of problems and of rating of action on problems, these series of questions furnish, however, useful measuring instruments.

The index used in this analysis was constructed--after several other methods had been tried--in a simple way.

- 1.) All respondents who answered "very much" or "some" to one or more of the questions concerning the effect of the three city problems on the congregation were marked and classified as "city problem conscious."
- 2.) All respondents who answered "yes" to any one or more of the questions concerning the existence in the neighborhood of the eight problems were marked and classified as "perceiving neighborhood problems."
- 3.) All respondents who were both "city problem conscious" and also "perceiving neighborhood problems" were marked and classified as "perceiving problems."
- 4.) All respondents who were not either "city problem conscious"

or "perceiving neighborhood problems" were marked and classified as "not perceiving problems."

In all congregations except one (St. John's) the percentage of respondents who are 'city problem conscious' is the highest, followed by the percentage of respondents who are 'perceiving neighborhood problems.' In all but two cases (St. Peter's and Zion) the respondents who perceive both kinds of problems form the third largest group and the 'not problem conscious' respondents are the smallest group. (See TABLE 1--CHAPTER V.)

An index for the rating of action on these problems was constructed in a similar way.

- 1.) All respondents who answered "Yes - a lot" to one or more of the questions concerning the help congregations are giving people to meet city problems were marked and classified as "giving a high rating of action on city problems."
- 2.) All respondents who answered "Very good job" to one or more of the questions concerning the job congregations are doing in helping to solve neighborhood problems were marked and classified as "giving a high rating of action on neighborhood problems."
- 3.) All respondents who gave high ratings for action on at least one city and one neighborhood problem were marked and classified as "giving a high rating of action on problems."
- 4.) All respondents who gave no high rating of action on any of the city problems or any of the neighborhood problems

were marked and classified as "giving no high rating of action on problems."

In all cases, except in St. John's, where the percentages are the same, the percentage of respondents who give a high rating of action on city problems is greater than the percentage of respondents who give a high rating of action on neighborhood problems. In all cases the percentage of respondents who give a high rating of action on both kinds of problems is, of course, smallest. The proportion of respondents who give no high rating at all varies considerably and is, on the whole, very high, even among two of the 'satisfied' congregations. But Trinity is an exception. (See TABLE 1-- CHAPTER V.)

This index being nothing but a device to combine a great mass of data to make them manageable, ratings concerning special problems are still used where indicated.¹

¹In constructing these two indices, answers to all questions were dichotomized, as the answers to questions concerning judgment of the pastor or the congregation were dichotomized. With the small numbers of respondents available, it seemed useless to form more than two groups of respondents for comparison. Thus, in the indices there are classed together as negative responses the truly negative answers, the less than positive, in-between answers, the "Don't know" and no answers. These groups of answers vary independently from each other among congregations and among problems. Indices constructed with consideration for such variations would have stressed the differences between congregations. In an analysis of variations between a large number of congregations, this would have been worth the effort, but not here.

The same can be said for the neglect of multiple high rates of perception or multiple high ratings of problems. If each problem had been scored separately for the construction of the indices the refinement would have been of no help in this analysis.

General and Particular Problem Consciousness

The percentage of respondents who perceive both kinds of specific problems varies among our seven congregations from 27% in the two "satisfied" congregations, St. Peter's and Zion, to 57% in "satisfied" Trinity and 65% in "dissatisfied" St. Mark's. (See TABLE 1--CHAPTER V.) As shown in Chapter IV, the two former are also very little problem conscious in general (6% and 10% say the problems of their congregation are "more difficult" than those of others), while the two latter are the most problem conscious of all the congregations (45% in Trinity and 53% in St. Mark's think their problems are "more difficult"). Thus, there is obviously a positive relationship between the earlier question about unspecified problems of the congregation and the later questions about the existence or impact of specific problems. But it is by no means a one-to-one relationship. Among the respondents who think their congregation's problems are no more difficult than those of other congregations, there are many who perceive problems in the neighborhood and city, especially in the two most problem conscious congregations, integrated Trinity and St. Mark's. And, at the same time, not more than three-fourths of those who think their congregation's problems are "more difficult" ever think that both kinds of problems affect their congregation and neighborhood.

The case of St. John's is the chief exception to the positive relationship between general and specific problem awareness. In St. John's, where we find the greatest majority

of people saying that their problems are "about the same" as those of others, the list of eight neighborhood problems has brought out an unexpectedly high response: 66% of respondents say that one or more exist. This is due, however, to the fact that 55% of our respondents in St. John's say that 'overcrowded public schools' exist in their neighborhood (trailed by 32% who check 'juvenile delinquency' and 12% 'racial conflict'). It is therefore not surprising that the association between awareness of this particular problem and judgment of unspecified problems facing the congregation is slight; our respondents do not seem to think that overcrowded public schools are the congregation's business. The relation between awareness of this problem and rating of the congregation's action about it is negative. The congregation is not doing anything about it.

Thus, from the viewpoint of our respondents, St. John's is not really an exception to the general association between the judgment of the relative severity of problems facing the congregation and perception of specific problems.

Perception of Problems and Rating of Action on these Problems

If we study what respondents who perceive problems say about the job their congregation is doing (see TABLE 2--CHAPTER V), we may first note that, of those who do not see any problems either in the neighborhood or in the city, considerable proportions still affirm that their congregation is doing a good job on them. The most notable case is Trinity: of those who do not perceive any problems, 58% give the

congregation a high rating for action on at least one of eleven problems. This is sensible enough even if it doesn't immediately appear so. 'Racial conflict' no longer exists in the all-Negro neighborhood of Trinity, but the 49% of the respondents who say the congregation is doing a "very good job" in helping to solve the problem now think of this problem as it still exists outside the immediate neighborhood. Nor do they want to pass up a chance to praise their congregation. The same goes for the two city problems, 'different groups living together and ill feeling sometimes arising' and 'ever changing population.

The perfect contrast is furnished by St. Mark's, where 96% of those who do not perceive any of the eleven problems answer, with the logic to be expected, that their congregation is not doing any good on these problems. (See TABLE 2-- CHAPTER 5, line IV.)

Consciousness of city problems is higher than consciousness of neighborhood problems in five churches and equally high in Trinity; in St. John's, consciousness of neighborhood problems is higher. And, those conscious of city problems rate the congregation's action in these problems more highly than those conscious of neighborhood problems rate its action in those latter problems. But the difference in rating of the congregation's respective action is not merely in the same proportions as difference of consciousness; there is a further differential whereby the high perception of city problems pushes up rating of the congregation's action about them above rating of action about neighborhood problems. (See TABLE 2--

CHAPTER V, lines I and II.) Thus, the higher the proportion of perception, the higher the proportion, among those who perceive the problems, of those who appreciate the job of the congregation. That this result is not just due to the formulation of the questions is shown by the exception of St.

John's: while in all other cases there are higher rates of perception of city problems, St. John's has a higher rate of perception of neighborhood problems, and, among those perceiving one or the other kind of problems, it is those perceiving the latter who also show more appreciation of the congregation's action. Perception of problems does not by any means always lead people to acknowledge that their church is doing something about them; but it helps.

Those respondents, however, who do not give their congregation any good rating for action on either kind of problem, more often than not perceive at least one problem in city or neighborhood. (St. Peter's is, just barely, the exception.) (See TABLE 2--CHAPTER V, line V.) Whether or not they think their congregation ought to do something about the problems perceived, we do not know.

When we compare congregations--instead of perception of different kinds of problems in the same congregation as above--the association between consciousness of problems and rating for action on these problems becomes relatively unimportant compared to the association between rating for action on specific problems and the overall rating of the congregation's job. Thus, rating for action on specific problems is relatively high in the three "satisfied" congregations,

however great or small consciousness of problem is, and in the four "dissatisfied" congregations rating for action on specific problems is relatively low, although consciousness of these specific problems is high. These matters are also discussed in Chapter VII.

Characteristics of Problem Conscious Respondents

The general pattern described above is that, in all congregations except St. John's, the largest proportion of respondents says that at least one of the three city problems affects their congregations, a smaller proportion says that at least one of the eight neighborhood problems exists in the neighborhood of the church, and a still smaller proportion is conscious of both kinds of problems. The same pattern, including the exception of St. John's, can be found for men and women separately. (See TABLE 1--APPENDIX.) At the same time, with only minor exceptions, women are less problem conscious than men. This difference was to be anticipated because of the tendency often observed, of women to answer "Don't know."¹

Without exception, people under fifty are more problem conscious than people over fifty, and this is true for city problems, neighborhood problems and both combined. Also, better educated respondents are more problem conscious on all counts than less well educated respondents. The most problem

¹The exception of St. John's is due to the fact that more women than men perceive the existence of a neighborhood problem, namely, overcrowded public schools.

conscious in all seven congregations are the respondents under fifty who have graduated from high school or gone to college. Though this is no surprise, it is none-the-less a fact of considerable importance for the formation of policy in the church.

The distance at which our respondents live from their respective churches has already proved to be an intervening variable difficult to handle. Not only is it bound up with such variables as socio-economic status, age and length of membership, from which we cannot, with the number of respondents at hand, separate it, but it also has a different meaning in different neighborhoods: the region 10 to 30 blocks from the church may be better or worse than the immediate neighborhood, or better in parts and worse in other parts. Moreover, the distribution of membership at varying distances differs greatly among the seven cases: in some the majority of respondents live in the immediate neighborhood, in others it is the reverse, in still others respondents are more or less evenly divided between the three distances set up for the study. Anything said about "distance from church" is, therefore, said only tentatively and only in order to draw attention to the fact that distance from church is an important factor which needs more thorough study.

We should expect those respondents who live in the immediate neighborhood of the church to be aware of the problems existing there more often than those who live farther away. This, indeed, proves to be the case (see TABLE 2--APPENDIX) except for Zion, where people living 10 to 30

blocks away are somewhat more perceptive of neighborhood problems (48% vs. 55%); and there is a very minor exception in St. John's. But the differences in perception of neighborhood problems between respondents living at various distances from the church are generally rather small. The only case, St. John's, where the differences are not small (24 percentage points between those who live from 10 to 30 blocks and those who live more than 30 blocks away) is, again, due to the special concern about 'overcrowded public schools' of which the people living further away are rather naturally unaware; these latter are, moreover, relatively older.

We might expect that those respondents who live nearer to the church would be more aware of what city problems affect their congregation, especially since two of these problems, 'different groups living together' and 'ever changing population,' can affect the church only if they manifest themselves in the neighborhood of the church. On the other hand, we might expect that every participating member of the congregation, regardless of how far or near he is living, would know whether or not one of the three big city problems affects his congregation. Yet neither guess is confirmed by our data.

In the three "satisfied" congregations, St. Peter's, Trinity and Zion, the differences between respondents living at different distances from church are small. Those who live more than 30 blocks away are most conscious of city problems in these three cases. We know that in Trinity these respondents are practically all white and that white respondents are far more problem conscious in a general way. It is possible

that in St. Peter's and Zion a somewhat similar explanation of the findings might lie in the fact that those respondents who moved away from the neighborhood of the church did so largely because they were--unpleasantly--aware of the very problems affecting the congregation.

In the four "dissatisfied" congregations, St. Matthew's, St. Mark's, St. John's and St. Luke's, the differences between respondents living at various distances from church are bigger, especially in St. Matthew's, where only 46% of those in the immediate neighborhood are conscious of city problems, while 82% of those living 10 to 30 blocks away are. In all these four cases, those at the middle distance are the most conscious of city problems.

To shed some light on these relationships, a special study of the influence of distance from church on related variables has been made for St. Matthew's and St. Mark's. (See TABLE 3--APPENDIX.) In both cases the largest proportion of respondents lives more than 30 blocks away: 65% in St. Matthew's and 49% in St. Mark's. In both cases respondents have a poor opinion of the neighborhood of the church. This opinion becomes more pronounced the farther away respondents live. At a distance, it also looks more often as if conditions in the neighborhood are becoming worse. But when it comes to stating whether or not some of these conditions in the neighborhood affect the congregation, we find the highest proportion of affirmative answers among those respondents who live at a middle distance. (The pattern for city problems determines

the pattern for perception of both kinds of problems.) At St. Matthew's these are not the most active members. At St. Matthew's, which is a downtown church with only 13% of its membership in the immediate neighborhood of the church building, the members who go to church most and hold most of the responsible positions live more than 30 blocks away. They most often hold a poor opinion of the church neighborhood, but they are relatively less often of the opinion that such conditions affect their congregation; their congregation is themselves.

In some important respects, St. Mark's is different from St. Matthew's. In St. Mark's, the people living at the middle distance rate the neighborhood more as those living further away do. And on judging the 'newcomers' to the neighborhood those at the middle distance are the most pessimistic. Curiously, although 54% of this middle distance group think that the 'newcomers' to the community are making the congregation "weaker," 68% of them (the highest proportion among the three groups) advocate integration. They also say most often that their church membership helps them "to understand people of different cultures and races." Part of the solution to this combination of attitudes probably lies in the fact that this middle distance group in St. Mark's (in contrast to that of St. Matthew's) contains the highest proportion of frequent church-goers and of respondents in responsible positions. These people may see the challenge to their congregation and accept it, while those who have moved far away show a tendency to withdraw from St. Mark's. At St. Matthew's, living far away from church is the normal thing; at St. Mark's it is

largely a reaction to the worsening conditions around the church. Thus the relationship between the groups living nearer or farther from the church is also different in the two cases, and, although in both cases the middle distance group is most problem conscious, this has different consequences in St. Mark's, where it is also the most active group, than in St. Matthew's, where it is a relatively unimportant group for congregational policy-making.

Perception of Problems and Participation

If we compare degrees of active participation in the life of the church as between those respondents who are conscious of problems and those who do not perceive either one of the neighborhood or one of the city problems, we find that in all seven congregations those who are conscious of problems more frequently go to church at least three times a month, more often belong to church organizations and more often hold responsible positions than those who do not perceive any problems.¹ (See TABLE 4--APPENDIX.)

The association between active participation and perception of problems was to be expected, since in order to become conscious of problems affecting the neighborhood of the church or the congregation itself, a member must be somewhat concerned about the congregation. Yet, although among those who do not

¹There are very small, if any, differences of active participation between those respondents who are conscious of neighborhood problems, of city problems, or of both. The reduction of TABLE 4--APPENDIX to a contrast between those who perceive both kinds of problems and those who do not perceive any problems is thus justified.

perceive any problems there are many nominal or barely participant respondents, by no means all of them are. Further, the differences in active participation between those who are and those who are not conscious of problems vary considerably among congregations and for the three kinds of active participation within congregations. These differences do not seem to follow a meaningful pattern, as far as can be ascertained.

To study a feeling of participation in the life of the church the following question is used: "Do you feel that you have a voice in shaping the policy and program of your congregation?" Answers to this question do not differ significantly as between those who say that neighborhood problems exist, those who perceive both kinds of problems. But if we contrast those who are conscious of problems with those who are not, we find that, without exception, the problem conscious respondents more often feel they have a voice in the congregation than do those who are not problem conscious. (See TABLE 4--APPENDIX.) It looks as if problem consciousness by itself were a measure of involvement in the life of the congregation--not a necessary characteristic of involvement, of course, but an important one.

Having close friends in the congregation is, however, not directly related to being conscious of problems. As before, one finds that the kind of people who have many close friends differ from congregation to congregation.

Two questions from the series under the main heading, "How much help is your church membership to you in the following areas of your life?" can be expected to be related to the

problem complex. These two sub-questions are: "In making me aware of the needs of others in my community?" and "In helping me to understand people of different cultures and races?" In both instances we find, again, that respondents who are conscious of problems say more often than those who are not that their church membership is of "much" help to them in these matters. The differences are, on the whole, somewhat smaller than for the questions studied above. Nevertheless, the finding strengthens the hypothesis that the differences between those conscious of problems and those not conscious of them are not a sign of discernment in the former, but of indecision, timidity, or indolence in the latter. If the latter characteristics do in fact distinguish those who are not conscious of problems they, of course, imply weak involvement, whether active or emotional, in the life of the church, and they are, presumably, the basic characteristics to be attributed to respondents who are neither conscious of problems nor actively participate in church life.

Perception of Problems and Attitudes towards
the Neighborhood and Integration

The relation between problem consciousness and attitude towards the neighborhood is usually as simple as might be expected. (See TABLE 5--APPENDIX.) Those respondents who do not perceive any problems say more often than those who do that the neighborhood of the church is "a very nice place to live." (The one exception of St. Luke's has too few respondents involved here to count.) In all seven cases, those

respondents who do perceive problems say more often than the others that the neighborhood of the church is "a rather poor place to live." "A fairly nice place to live" is a relatively negative answer in some congregations and a relatively positive answer in others, e.g., St. Matthew's and St. Mark's, and the differences between groups conscious of problems and not conscious of problems fall accordingly.¹

Only minor differences between the three problem conscious groups occur for the question: "Do you think that your congregation should accept into membership persons of all races?" (We may remind the reader that the race issue is mentioned among city as well as neighborhood problems.) Those conscious of both kinds of problems say both "yes" and "no" more often than those conscious of neither; the latter are more often uncertain or evasive and check "Don't know." But the differences between the problem conscious and those not conscious of problems are, on the whole, not great. Perception of the fact that race problems exist in or around the church has no direct relationship to favorable or unfavorable attitudes towards integration.

In un-integrated St. Peter's and in integrated St. Mark's the numbers of anti-integrationists are not small (31% of the respondents in both cases), and variations of the pattern can therefore be observed. In St. Mark's, those who are aware of problems come close to the average in their answers: 59% of

¹No important differences arise between those who perceive city problems, those who perceive neighborhood problems and those who perceive both kinds of problems.

them say "Yes" (the average is 56%) and 32% of them say "No" (the average is 31%). But in St. Peter's those who are conscious of problems tend to a more negative attitude towards integration than the problem conscious respondents in St. Mark's: in St. Peter's 39% of the problem conscious say "No" to integration. The difference may lie in the group of respondents in St. Mark's which we have encountered before--the group which is highly aware of the problems confronting the congregation but accepts the challenge. Those respondents who do not perceive any problems give, in both cases, fewer clear "Yes" or "No" answers, especially fewer "Yes" answers. Thus, not perceiving any problems in the neighborhood or in the congregation hardly reduces the rate of anti-integration feeling, but is associated with a less affirmative stand for integration.

On the whole, however, we find that attitudes towards integration have little to do with what our respondents see in and around their church. Problems may be seen and felt, but the decision to deal with them in one way or another is a different matter.

Differences in Ratings of Action on Problems

On the whole, the respondents do not rate what the congregations are doing about the various specific problems at all highly. (See TABLE 1--CHAPTER V and TABLE 1a--CHAPTER V.) In five of seven cases, the proportion of respondents who do not give a single high rating on action on any of the eleven problems (no "Very good job" answer on any of the eight

neighborhood problems and no "Yes - a lot" answer on any of the three city problems) is the largest proportion; the next is the proportion of respondents who give high rating of action on at least one city problem; next again are those who rate action on neighborhood problems highly; last come those who rate action on at least one of each kind of problems highly. In two cases, St. Peter's and Trinity, the proportion of respondents giving no high rating at all is not the largest; in St. Peter's it comes second and in Trinity it comes last. Trinity is the single case in which the respondents seem really satisfied with what the congregation is doing about its environmental problems. St. Peter's, which generally gets such good rating from its members, does far less well on these environmental problems, and the third of our "satisfied" congregations, Zion, does not do well at all.

This general pattern is barely varied if we look at men and women separately. (See TABLE 6--APPENDIX.) The only difference worth mentioning occurs in Trinity where the men give a high rating of action on both kinds of problems the more often (57% vs. 42%). The men of Trinity are also more problem conscious, but in other cases this does not have the effect of bringing up their rating of action. It is mainly the single young men who think very well of what the congregation is doing.

In six out of seven cases the younger people rate their congregation's actions on problems higher than the older respondents do. Perception of problems is higher among the

younger respondents in all seven churches. St. Peter's is the exceptional case where people over fifty are the more often satisfied with what the congregation is doing about specific problems--as they are with the congregation's "overall job." This exception can be traced to one of the three city problems, the 'ever changing population' which looms large in the consciousness of the respondents in St. Peter's. The younger--specifically the younger, better educated--respondents in St. Peter's, highly aware of the changes around their church, lack the complacent conviction of other members that what St. Peter's is doing about this problem is 'a lot.' Generally, awareness of specific problems and a favorable rating for the action of the congregation on these problems are both higher among the younger, better educated respondents.

We have found above that distance from church has contradictory influences on awareness of problems. Since the numbers of respondents giving their congregations a favorable rating for action on problems is quite small, a study of subgroups living at three different distances from church is barely feasible. As far as one can see, no direct relationship exists between distance from church and the ratings respondents give their congregations for actions on specific problems.

Rating of Action on Problems and Participation

It has been found that perception of problems is associated with higher rates of church-going, membership in church

organizations and holding of responsible positions, while those respondents who do not perceive any of the eleven specific problems show lower rates of participation. The same is true, without exception, of the groups that give high ratings to action on these specific problems as compared with those groups who do not rate what their congregation is doing on any one problem highly.¹ (See TABLE 7--APPENDIX.) But, as relatively few people rate their congregation's actions on specific problems highly, considerable proportions of those who have no praise for what their congregation is doing about city and neighborhood problems are fully active members.

Of course, differences in participation rates between those who rate the congregation's actions highly and those who do not vary between congregations and also vary between the three criteria of participation (church-going, membership in organizations, and holding of positions), but no meaningful pattern of variation emerges.

With regard to participation as measured by answers to the question, "Do you feel that you have a voice in shaping the policy and program of your congregation?" we also find considerable differences between those who rate the congregation's actions highly and those who do not. The differences are all in the expected direction: those who think well of the congregation's actions on city and neighborhood problems also tend to feel that they have a voice in the congregation.

¹Differences in participation between those who rate action on city problems or on neighborhood problems or on both kinds of problems highly are small and do not demand special attention.

The largest differences between the two groups are, again, found in St. Mark's, where those who do not like what the congregation is doing about its environmental problems--about integration, that is--not only feel left out personally, but also question the democratic spirit of the congregation.

If we compare the association between participation and satisfaction with the congregation's action on specific problems with the association between participation and satisfaction with the overall job the congregation is doing (cf. Chapter IV), we find the former closer than the latter. This may be interpreted as showing that those who rate the congregation's action on specific problems highly--though few--are especially involved in the life of the church, that they are a kind of "participating elite."¹

This impression is strengthened by the fact that a rather close association exists in all cases between a high rating of the congregation's actions on specific problems and a positive answer to the two questions (used before) which ask whether church membership is of much help in making one aware of the needs of others in the community and in making one understand people of different cultures and races. (See TABLE 7--APPENDIX.)

Rating of Action on Problems and Attitudes
towards the Neighborhood and Integration

There is no strong, uniform relationship between rating of the congregation's action on specific problems and attitudes

¹Having close friends in the congregation does not, however, make much difference in the rating of the congregation's action on specific problems.

towards the neighborhood. (See TABLE 8--APPENDIX.) Nevertheless, the two variables are not completely independent of each other. We have found already in Chapter IV that an association between an optimistic opinion of the neighborhood and a favorable rating of the congregation's overall job. A similar association, varying in strength among congregations, exists between an optimistic opinion of the neighborhood and a favorable rating of the congregation's action on city and neighborhood problems. The association is not very strong and not uniform, but it is there. Perhaps it can be related to an underlying attachment to the neighborhood as well as to the church--to a way of life and to ingrained habits. The general tendency is somewhat obscured by the relatively high proportion of 'chronic don't know's' among those who do not rate the congregation's actions highly; consequently, these latter, in some cases, also show a smaller proportion of pessimistic attitudes concerning the neighborhood than do those who think the congregation is doing well.

As one would expect, associations between ratings of action on problems and attitudes towards the neighborhood often differ in direction from those between problem consciousness and attitudes towards the neighborhood. In spite of several exceptions, the former are, for the most part, associations of optimistic attitudes, the latter are associations of pessimistic attitudes.

Attitudes towards the neighborhood differ very little between those who are satisfied with the congregation's action

on city problems, on neighborhood problems and on both kinds of problems. But St. John's is an exception. In St. John's, the association of a good opinion of the neighborhood becomes progressively closer with, first, the rating of action on city problems, second, the rating of action on neighborhood problems and, third, the rating of action on both kinds of problems. Thus, in St. John's those few (13) respondents who think their congregation is doing some good on at least one of the city and one of the neighborhood problems are a group especially closely attached to the neighborhood.

If the relationship between satisfaction with action on specific problems and attitudes towards integration is considered, differences between action on city problems, neighborhood problems or both kinds of problems can be disregarded. Of those who are satisfied with the congregation's actions on both kinds of specific problems, more say "Yes" to integration in all seven cases than of those who do not think highly of what the congregation does on any of the problems. The biggest difference is found in St. Mark's, as could be expected from earlier findings. Also as before, there is hardly a difference about integration between those satisfied and those dissatisfied with actions on specific problems in St. Peter's. In St. Peter's integration is still a theoretical issue; in St. Mark's, on the contrary, the disagreement is over policy already instituted. Thus the dissatisfied respondents in St. Mark's more often say "No" to integration than the satisfied ones (39% as against 22%), while the dissatisfied respondents in St. Peter's say "No" less often than

the satisfied ones (27% as against 35%). In St. Peter's those who do not think well of the congregation's actions on specific problems are largely uncertain or unconcerned members who do not have an opinion even on the integration question but answer "Don't know."

In the other five congregations, the numbers involved are too small to warrant study. But, on the whole, we may conclude again that attitudes towards integration are variously related to opinions on how well the congregation is doing in dealing with its environmental problems and that the variation depends on the circumstances of the case.

TABLE 1--APPENDIX

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS PERCEIVING PROBLEMS

Percentage of respondents perceiving at least one of three city and one of eight neighborhood problems		St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
Men		32	65	35	53	65	30	65
Women		25	53	23	46	66	34	38
Up to 50 years old		32	60	40	63	73	38	78
Over 50 years old		20	49	16	35	56	22	26
Less educated		24	49	23	34	52	29	37
Better educated		36	60	32	61	79	36	57
Up to 50 years old and better educated		38	61	42	68	80	40	76

Note: Total numbers for the categories in TABLES 2 and 3--CHAPTER II.

TABLE 2--APPENDIX
DISTANCE FROM CHURCH AND PERCEPTION OF PROBLEMS

	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
<u>Percentage of respondents</u> <u>perceiving city problems</u>							
Among respondents living away:							
up to 10 blocks	48	68	51	46	78	45	72
10 to 30 blocks	45	73	48	82	90	48	100
more than 30 blocks	54	75	54	66	77	32	60
<u>Percentage of respondents</u> <u>perceiving neighborhood</u> <u>problems</u>							
Among respondents living away:							
up to 10 blocks	45	77	48	64	78	67	58
10 to 30 blocks	32	70	55	63	74	69	50
more than 30 blocks	43	63	34	54	69	45	40
<u>Percentage of respondents</u> <u>perceiving both kinds of</u> <u>problems</u>							
Among respondents living away:							
up to 10 blocks	29	55	27	36	64	34	50
10 to 30 blocks	17	59	33	55	74	38	50
more than 30 blocks	31	58	22	46	60	19	33

Note: Total numbers for these categories in TABLE 2--CHAPTER 2.

TABLE 3--APPENDIX
THE INFLUENCE OF DISTANCE FROM CHURCH

Total numbers	St. Matthew's		St. Mark's	
	Respondents living blocks from church:		Respondents living blocks from church:	
	Up to 10 (39)	11 to 30 (67)	Up to 10 (50)	11 to 30 (57)
		More than 30 (195)		More than 30 (104)
Percentage of respondents who:				
Rate neighborhood "rather poor place to live"	31	54	52	68
		69		74
Say neighborhood is changing for the worse	8	6	64	77
		11		78
Say newcomers make congregation "weaker"	-	-	38	54
		5		44
Say newcomers make neighborhood "worse"	-	-	54	63
		7		53
Perceive both kinds of problems	36	55	64	74
		46		60
Say "Yes" to integration	82	73	46	68
		74		57
Go to church at least 3 times a month	46	54	50	65
		61		44
Hold responsible positions	18	21	28	33
		33		24

TABLE 4--APPENDIX
PERCEPTION OF PROBLEMS AND PARTICIPATION

	St. Peter's + (93)(113)	Trinity + (131)(31)	Zion + (69)(73)	St. Matthew's + (147)(59)	St. Mark's + (137)(25)	St. John's + (70)(50)	St. Luke's + (28)(11)
Perception of both kinds of problems Total numbers							
% of respondents who:							
Attend Sunday services at least 3 times a month	55	77	52	68	54	72	75
Belong to one or more church organizations	49	74	58	60	61	51	79
Hold some responsible position	25	47	40	38	34	43	68
Feel they have a voice ... in congregation	43	57	61	49	37	50	57
Say church membership is of "much" help in making them "aware of the needs of others in community"	51	51	42	53	46	40	36
Say church membership is of "much" help to under- stand people of different cultures and races	45	68	49	44	47	40	43

TABLE 5--APPENDIX
THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND PERCEPTION OF PROBLEMS

Perception of problems: Total numbers	St. Peter's + (93)(113)	Trinity + (131)(31)	Zion + (69)(73)	St. Matthew's + (147)(59)	St. Mark's + (137)(25)	St. John's + (70)(50)	St. Luke's + (28)(11)
P e r c e n t a g e							
"What is your opinion of the neighborhood in which your church building is located?"							
A very nice place,	10 21	70 74	42 52	3 17	2 4	21 34	36 18
A fairly nice place,	65 56	18 16	45 38	20 41	19 28	60 54	57 64
A rather poor place to live	24 13	6 3	9 4	76 27	74 36	17 2	7 -

TABLE 6--APPENDIX
CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS RATING ACTION ON PROBLEMS HIGHLY

Percentage of respondents who rate highly the action on at least one of three city and one of eight neighborhood problems							
	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
Men	24	57	22	16	18	5	-
Women	25	42	17	14	21	7	3
Up to 50 years old	22	50	26	17	22	8	4
Over 50 years old	28	41	12	13	17	3	-
Less educated	25	30	18	15	17	2	-
Better educated	22	51	18	15	22	10	3

Note: Total numbers for the categories in TABLES 2 and 3--CHAPTER II.

TABLE 7--APPENDIX
RATING OF ACTION ON PROBLEMS AND PARTICIPATION

	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
Rating of action on problems							
Total numbers	⁺ (81)(131)	⁺ (109)(40)	⁺ (48)(142)	⁺ (45)(141)	⁺ (41)(102)	⁺ (13)(139)	⁺ (1)(46)
% of respondents who:							
Attend Sunday Services at least 3 times a month	62 35	74 60	65 39	67 50	63 45	77 54	100 70
Belong to one or more church organizations	56 26	79 55	52 49	56 45	66 46	69 36	100 61
Hold some responsible position	30 11	47 25	35 27	31 24	39 20	38 22	100 50
Feel they have a voice . . . in congregation	54 32	60 43	52 32	47 28	56 18	69 44	100 52
Say church membership is of "much" help in making them "aware of the needs of others in community"	72 33	54 23	67 29	76 32	56 27	69 27	100 30
Say church membership is of "much" help "to understand people of different cultures and races"	64 29	73 45	79 35	60 29	58 31	69 27	100 41

TABLE 8--APPENDIX
THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND RATING OF ACTION ON PROBLEMS

Rating of action on problems Total numbers	P E R C E N T A G E						
	St. Peter's	Trinity	Zion	St. Matthew's	St. Mark's	St. John's	St. Luke's
	+ (81)(131)	+ (109)(40)	+ (48)(142)	+ (45)(141)	+ (41)(102)	+ (13)(139)	+ (1)(46)
"What is your opinion of the neighborhood in which your church building is located?"	17 14	78 63	58 40	9 8	12 1	54 24	- 33
A very nice place,	58 61	16 20	31 51	27 31	29 17	38 64	100 57
A fairly nice place,	23 15	1 10	6 3	62 52	56 69	8 8	- 6
A rather poor place, to live							

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahlstrom, Sydney. "The Lutheran Church and American Culture," The Lutheran Quarterly, IX (Nov., 1957), 321-342.
- Argyle, Michael. Religious Behavior. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958.
- Carter, Paul A. The Decline and Rivival of the Social Gospel: Social and Political Liberalism in American Protestant Churches, 1920-1940. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956.
- Cross, Robert D. The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958.
- Dobriner, William (ed.) The Suburban Community: A Source-book. New York: G. P. Putnams Sons, 1958.
- Douglass, H. Paul. 1000 City Churches, New York: Geo. H. Doran & Co., 1926.
- Douglass, H. Paul and Brunner, E. The Protestant Church as a Social Institution. New York: Harper & Bros., 1935.
- Douglass, Truman B. "The Job the Protestants Shirk," Harper's Magazine, November, 1958.
- Eckhardt, A. The Surge of Piety in America. New York: Association Press, 1958.
- Eister, A. "Religious Institutions in Complex Societies," American Sociological Review (22, 1957).
- Festinger, L. A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance. Evanston: Row, Peterson & Co., 1957.
- Fichter, J. Social Relations in the Urban Parish. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.
- _____. Southern Parish. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951.
- Glock, Charles Y. "Present Developments and Prospects in the Sociology of Religion," in R. K. Merton, et al., eds. Sociology Today. New York: Basic Books, 1959.

- Glock, Charles Y. and Ringer, Ben. "The Political Role of the Church as Defined by its Parishioners," Public Opinion Quarterly (Winter 1954-55), 337-347.
- _____. "Church Policy and the Attitudes of Ministers and Parishioners on Social Issues," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (April, 1956), 148-156.
- Hammond, Phillip E. "The Role of Ideology in Church Participation." Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1956.
- Hardon, John A., S. J. The Protestant Churches of America. Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1956.
- Herberg, Will. Protestant, Catholic, Jew. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955.
- Hertz, Karl. "How Effective?" The City Church (Nov.-Dec., 1957), 7-10.
- Hopkins, Charles H. The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism 1865-1915. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940.
- Hotchison, John A. (ed.). Christian Faith and Social Action. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953.
- Kincheloe, Samuel C. The American City and its Church. New York: Friendship Press, 1938.
- Kirkpatrick, C. "Religion and Humanitarianism: A Study of Institutional Implications," Psychological Monographs (63, 1949).
- Kloetzli, Walter. The City Church: Death or Renewal? A Study of Eight Urban Lutheran Churches. Afterword by Charles Y. Glock. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1961.
- Landis, J. "Social Action in American Protestant Churches," American Journal of Sociology (52, 1946-47).
- Lazareth, William H. L. A Theology of Politics. Pamphlet published by the Board of Social Missions, National Lutheran Council, New York, 1960.
- Leiffer, Murray H. The Effective City Church. Rev. ed. New York: Abingdon Press, 1955.
- Lenski, G. "Religion and the Modern Metropolis," Review of Religious Research (1, 1959).
- Letts, Harold C. (ed.). Christian Social Responsibility. 3 vols. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957.

- Loescher, Frank. The Protestant Church and the Negro. Philadelphia: Association Press, 1948.
- Marty, M. The New Shape of American Religion. New York: Harper & Bros., 1959.
- Mayer, F. E. The Religious Bodies of America. Saint Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1954.
- Miller, K. Man and God in the City. New York: Friendship Press, Inc., 1954.
- Niebuhr, H. Richard. The Social Sources of Denominationalism. New York: Henry Hold & Co., 1929.
- Nuesse, C. J. and Harte, T. J. (eds.). The Sociology of the Parish: An Introductory Symposium. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1951.
- Park, Robert Ezra. Human Communities: The City and Human Ecology. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952.
- _____. Race and Culture. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950.
- Potter, Frances S. "What is an Effective City Church?" New York: National Council of Churches of Christ, 1955. (mimeographed.)
- Rasmussen, Albert Terrill. Christian Social Ethics: Exerting Christian Influence. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1956.
- Rauschenbusch, Walter. A Theology for the Social Gospel. New York: Macmillan Co., 1917.
- Ringer, Ben. "The Parishioner and His Church." Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1956.
- Rowe, Henry Kalloch. The History of Religion in the United States. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928.
- Sanderson, Ross W. The Church Serves the Changing City. New York: Harper & Bros., 1955.
- _____. The Strategy of City Church Planning. New York: Harper & Bros., 1932.
- Seifert, Harvey. The Church in Community Action. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1952.
- Sorokin, Pitirim. Social and Cultural Dynamics. Vol. IV. New York: American Book Co., 1941.

Sweet, William Warren. The American Churches: An Interpretation. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1947.

_____. The Story of Religions in America. New York: Harper & Bros., 1930.

Tillich, Paul J. "Trends in Religious Thought that Affect Social Outlook," in Religion and World Order. Edited by Ernest F. Johnson. New York: Institute for Religious Studies, 1944.

Troeltsch, Ernst. Gesammelte Schriften: Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen. Tübingen: Mohr, 1912.

Wentz, Abdel Ross. The Lutheran Church in American History. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1933.

Yinger, J. Milton. Religion in the Struggle for Power. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1946.

Princeton Theological Seminary Libraries



1 1012 01237 5756